The Dynamics of Government Programs For Urban Indians in The Prairie Provinces

David L. Anderson
Harvey Bostrom
James Frideres
John A. Price

Edited by
Raymond Breton
Gail Grant

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and **Gail Grant**

The Institute for Research on Public Policy
L'Institut de recherches politiques

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Printed in Canada

Legal Deposit Third Quarter
Bibliothèque nationale du Québec

Cover: Visual Design Consultants, Halifax

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data
Main entry under title:
The Dynamics of government programs for
urban Indians in the Prairie provinces

Bibliography: p.
ISBN 0-920380-99-9

1. Indians of North America—Prairie Provinces—Urban Residence—Addresses, essays, lectures.
2. Indians of North America—Prairie Provinces—Social conditions—Addresses, essays, lectures.
3. Indians of North America—Prairie Provinces—Economic conditions—Addresses, essays, lectures.
4. Indians of North America—Prairie Provinces—Government relations—Addresses, essays, lectures.
I. Anderson, David L. (David Lloyd), 1944- II. Breton, Raymond, 1931- III. Grant, Gail, 1943-
IV. Institute for Research on Public Policy

The Institute for Research on Public Policy
/L'Institut de recherches politiques
2149 Mackay Street, Montreal, Quebec H3G 2J2

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The expression 'people of Indian ancestry' frequently used in this study is meant to include anyone who defines himself or herself in terms of the various categories of Native people (status Indian, non-status Indian or Métis) or is so defined by others in the community. The expression is inclusive, yet it allows the introduction of distinctions among different categories of people of Indian ancestry whenever it is relevant to do so.

Foreword

Since the early 1960s, there has been a great increase in the number of Indian people living in urban centres in Canada, especially in the Prairie Provinces. To a large degree, the movement has had its source in economic problems on Indian reservations and in difficulties experienced by Indians in pursuing traditional ways of life on the land. Whether or not initial migrants were able to establish themselves successfully, their presence in a town or city made it easier for relatives and friends to follow. The differences in circumstances of life, which many Indians encountered as they moved from reservations or rural areas to unfamiliar urban centres, have led to severe individual and social problems. Racial tensions, unemployment and the lack of the community support that is normal in Native environments have added to their complications.

With generous support from the Donner Canadian Foundation, the Institute has studied various aspects of this problem in the hope that information and analysis might point the way to new solutions. *The Concrete Reserve: Corporate Programs for Indians in the Urban Work Place*, recently published by the Institute, investigated employment programs that have been established for Native people by a number of corporations. An attempt was made to discern the factors that can make for success in such programs. The present study turns our attention to another aspect of the problem: the difficulties, uncertainties and conflicts created when jurisdiction is divided among a federal government responsible for Indians in general; provincial governments responsible for most of the services that Indians, in common with other citizens, need in urban environments; and municipal governments which lack the funds necessary to provide the special services required to help Native people adapt to a new way of life.

This study covers five major areas: employment and economic development, education, law and justice, welfare and housing. Its method is based on a description of the situation in each province, as disclosed by investigation carried out over the last four years, together with more general material which provide a setting and context for assessment. Professor James Frideres deals with government policies and programs conducted in Alberta, Professor David Anderson with those implemented in Saskatchewan, and Mr. Harvey Bostrom with those administered in Manitoba. Mr. Bostrom has also contributed a chapter on the evolution of Indian policy in Canada, which provides a setting against which to view the government activities that have developed to meet this new situation. Professor John A. Price has supplied a comparison of American experience with urban Indians that affords a valuable perspective.

The Institute hopes that this study will be of assistance to those at all levels of government who are responsible for progams and policies that now exist or that may be devised for Indians in urban environments. It will also, we hope, be of interest to Native organizations and to others who may be concerned with this complex issue.

On behalf of the Institute, I wish to express appreciation to the

Donner Canadian Foundation for the help that has made this study possible.

Gordon Robertson
Past President and Fellow-in-Residence

July 1984.

Avant-propos

Depuis le début des années soixante, le nombre d'Amérindiens habitant dans les centres urbains s'est accru considérablement au Canada, particulièrement dans les provinces des Prairies. Cette migration résulte largement des problèmes économiques qui sévissent dans les réserves indiennes et des difficultés auxquelles se heurtent les Amérindiens dans leurs tentatives pour conserver leur style de vie traditionnel sur leurs territoires. Que les premiers migrants aient réussi ou non à s'adapter à la vie urbaine, leur présence dans ce nouvel environnement a favorisé la venue de leurs parents et amis. Les changements de mode de vie qu'ont connus les Amérindiens en quittant les réserves ou les milieux ruraux pour s'installer dans des centres urbains inconnus ont provoqué de sérieux problèmes personnels et sociaux. Les tensions raciales, le chômage et l'absence de cette solidarité caractéristique des milieux amérindiens ont rendu la situation encore plus compliquée.

Une généreuse contribution de la Donner Canadian Foundation a permis à l'Institut de se pencher sur divers aspects de ce problème dans l'espoir que l'analyse des données recueillies laisserait entrevoir de nouvelles solutions. Nous avons récemment publié une étude des programmes d'emploi créés par un certain nombre d'entreprises à l'intention des Amérindiens. L'objet de cet ouvrage intitulé *The Concrete Reserve: Corporate Programs for Indians in the Urban Work Place* était de déterminer les facteurs susceptibles d'assurer le succès de tels programmes. Dans la présente étude, notre attention se porte sur un autre aspect du problème. On y analyse les difficultés, les incertitudes et les conflits qui résultent du partage des juridictions entre le gouvernement fédéral, responsable des Amérindiens en général, les gouvernements provinciaux chargés de fournir aux Amérindiens vivant en milieu urbain les services qui leur sont nécessaires, comme à tous les autres citoyens, et les gouvernements municipaux qui ne disposent pas des fonds requis pour faciliter l'adaptation des Amérindiens à leur nouveau mode de vie.

Notre étude couvre cinq secteurs cruciaux : l'emploi et le développement économique, l'éducation, le droit et la justice, le bien-être et le logement. La méthode utilisée est basée sur la description de la situation qui prévaut dans chacune des provinces, telle qu'établie suite à des enquêtes effectuées au cours des quatre dernières années. Elle comporte également des informations plus générales qui servent de toile de fond et offrent une grille d'évaluation. Le professeur James Frideres y traite des politiques et programmes en vigueur en Alberta et le professeur David Anderson de ceux qui ont été appliqués en Saskatchewan tandis que M. Harvey Bostrom dépeint la situation au Manitoba. On doit aussi à M. Bostrom un chapitre dans lequel il dépeint l'évolution de la politique indienne du Canada, nous fournissant ainsi le contexte dans lequel l'on peut examiner les initiatives gouvernementales prises pour faire face à cette situation nouvelle. Le professeur John A. Price y fait une comparaison avec l'expérience américaine relative aux Amérindiens vivant en milieu urbain qui nous donne une autre perspective valable.

L'Institut espère que cette étude sera utile à ceux qui, à tous les paliers de gouvernement, sont responsables des politiques et des programmes présents et futurs créés à l'intention des Amérindiens vivant en contexte urbain. Nous souhaitons également qu'elle intéressera les organisations amérindiennes et les autres organismes concernés par cette question complexe.

Je voudrais, au nom de l'Institut, exprimer notre reconnaissance à la Donner Canadian Foundation qui a rendu cette étude possible.

Gordon Robertson
Ancien président

Juillet 1984

The Authors and Editors

David Anderson was born in Hawkesbury, Ontario, in 1944. He holds the degrees of B.A. from the University of Waterloo, M.A. from the University of Guelph, and Ph.D. from Queen's University, all in economics. In 1972 he joined the Faculty of Administration of the University of Regina, where he now holds the rank of Professor. On two occasions Dr. Anderson has taken leave of absence from the University to work with government departments: first with the Department of Finance in Saskatchewan, and later with the Ministry of Finance and Planning in Kenya. In 1980-81 he spent a sabbatical leave in Australia as a Visiting Fellow, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University.

Harvey Bostrom is a Winnipeg-based consulting economist and a senior partner in H.B. & Partners, Management Consultants. Prior to establishing this consulting business, he served for eight years as a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. He was Minister of Renewable Resources and Minister of Co-operative Development in the Schreyer government. He has had extensive experience in working with Canada's Native communities, in the field of socio-economic development.

Raymond Breton, born in Montmartre, Saskatchewan, was educated at the University of Manitoba, where he received a B.A. degree; at the University of Chicago, where he received an M.A. degree in sociology; and at the Johns Hopkins University, where he received his Ph. D.

Having taught at the Université de Montréal, at McGill University, and at the Johns Hopkins Universitv, Raymond Breton is presently Professor of Sociology at the University of Toronto. He was Director of the Programme of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity at the Institute for Research on Public Policy between 1979 and 1981.

Professor Breton has written several books and articles. He is a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

James S. Frideres received his Ph.D. from Washington State University. He taught for two years at the University of Manitoba before moving to Calgary in 1971. His current interests are in the Family, Ethnic Relations and Native people in Canada. He is co-editor of the *Canadian Ethnic Studies* journal, author of *Ethnicity in Canada* (Butterworths). His current research interests are on the development of the Canadian North and the implications of that development for Native people.

Gail Grant, born in Montreal and educated in French schools of the Congregation of Notre-Dame, is a graduate of Concordia University. She began her career in the private sector and subsequently worked for the Canadian Council of Resource and Environment Ministers, where she was co-ordinator of a national committee on northern development. For the last decade, Ms. Grant has been employed by the Institute for Research on Public Policy, where she has had the unique opportunity of combining her training as a sociologist with her interest in matters of policy pertaining to Canada's ethnic and cultural diversity. At the Institute, she co-authored *Urban Institutions and People of Indian Ancestry* (1978) and *La langue de travail au Quebec* (1981). She is also the author of *The Concrete Reserve: Corporate Programs for Indians in the Urban Work*

Place (1983). For the last two years, Ms. Grant has been a member of the Executive Committee of the Montreal Career Women's Network Inc. She was recently appointed a member of Concordia University's Advisory Committee on Public Affairs to the Rector.

John Price is a Professor of Anthropology at York University. He began his work in Native studies in 1957, first with ethnography among such western U.S. tribes as the Ute, Washo, and Luiseno; then, since 1966, with studies of the urbanization of Indians; and since 1970, with research on Canadian Indians. His recent books are *Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians* (McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978); *Indians of Canada: Cultural Dynamics* (Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1979); and *The Washo Indians* (Nevada State Museum, 1980). He is currently an editor of *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies.*

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank Ms. Catherine MacKinnon, Senior Program Officer of the Donner Canadian Foundation, for her continuing support during the four-year process that has led to the production of this study. Her encouragement and goodwill were invaluable to us. We are grateful to each of the four authors, who willingly accepted our directives and suggestions to ensure the cohesiveness of this work, while retaining in his contribution the particular flavour of his own province. We are especially grateful to Mr. Harvey Bostrom, who went beyond the call of duty by providing us with an overview of the evolution of Canada's Indian policy.

Needless to say, a massive work of this nature could not be produced without major input from an experienced and imaginative editor. We were fortunate to have the collaboration of Dr. Jo File, the Institute's Coordinator of Editorial Services, whose year-long commitment to this project greatly enhanced the quality of the text. We thank Jo File for sharing with us her gift of the English language and for her patience in coordinating the various drafts which came at her from all directions.

Louise Beaudet, who was responsible for transferring these drafts onto a temperamental word processor, merits our gratitude and admiration. Grace Muldoon patiently and carefully proofread the manuscript and offered many suggestions for improvement, and we thank her sincerely.

Raymond Breton
and
Gail Grant

Summary

Introduction

The urbanization of Native people over the last two decades has forced the three levels of Canadian government to re-evaluate the whole area of public policy and to reconsider their respective areas of responsibility for Canadians of Indian ancestry. It is this evolution which had led to this study of government programs and policies relating to people of Indian ancestry living in urban centres in Canada's three Prairie provinces.

This work deals with programs and policies which, in one way or another, affect the lives of urban Natives, and focuses on the following policy areas: employment and economic development, education, law and justice, health, welfare and housing. The organizations and agencies, Native and non-Native, operating in these policy fields are also considered. The report includes three provincial studies, an examination of the recent evolution of Canada's Indian policy, and an overview of the American experience with urban Indians. The data on which the study was based was collected in 1979 and 1980. Since then, changes have been made in some programs, but the overall direction of such programs is not dramatically different from what it was in 1980; thus the analyses that follow are still applicable.

Several issues underlie the disputes between Canada's Native and non-Native communities; these can be resolved only through the political process. Should governments design programs specifically for Native people, or should Natives have access only to programs available to other Canadians with specific needs? Should Native programs explicitly recognize the different categories of Native people, since, so far, only status Indians have had a special relationship with the federal government? Should programs be designed to accelerate the adaptation of people of Indian ancestry to mainstream institutions, or should non-Native institutions attempt to increase their understanding of Native culture and offer Native persons more opportunities to retain their own traditional ways? Which level of government should finance Native programs? Are Indians a federal responsibility only when they live on reserves? Should Indians be encouraged to migrate to cities, or should attempts be made to improve the socio-economic conditions on reserves? There seems to be fairly general consensus that Canada's ultimate goal is equality between Native and non-Native citizens, but beyond this general objective, there may be little agreement on how to move in the direction of that goal, and on what 'equality' means in practical institutional terms.

Government Policies and Programs Relating to People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba

The analysis of government programs for urban Indians in Manitoba was limited to the city of Winnipeg, since it is the catchment area for 97 per cent of people of Indian ancestry living in urban centres in Manitoba. Though many Native people have adapted successfully to city living, most of them live in the city's inner core under conditions of abject poverty, poor health and housing standards, little education or opportunity for permanent employment, and a high degree of dependence on government transfer payments. Other indications of the difficulties Native people experience in the city are the disproportionate death rate among their children; their high rates of hospitalization; the increase of congenital abnormalities in their infants; their frequent changes of residence in search of better living conditions, with the attendant social and educational dislocations; the large number of Native children under the care of the Children's Aid Society; and the frequent imprisonment of Native people (albeit for minor offences) and their high rates of recidivism. The problems are numerous and acute, and solutions cannot be found by Native people alone; each level of government—federal, provincial and municipal—must be involved.

Unemployment is the most severe problem that Native people face in the city: they arrive unprepared for the reality of working in an industrial milieu; they are often unskilled or insufficiently educated and, consequently, they rapidly develop a low opinion of themselves. Federal and provincial programs in this area have been of short term, sporadic and unco-ordinated. Some programs provide loan financing for Native entrepreneurs, but they fail to provide for the development of adequate management skills. Native organizations have repeatedly requested life-skills training appropriate to urban settings and courses designed to make trainees familiar with the industrial work environment. Native organizations often complain that government programs are short-lived, are frequently terminated without explanation, and therefore cannot be taken into account in an organization's long-term planning.

Though the federal government initiated several programs aimed at solving the most acute unemployment problems, only one remains: that is, the Local Employment Assistance Plan. Until 1977 the provincial government operated under the premise that the provision of training and apprenticeship would lead to participation of Native people in the mainstream of the labour force. After 1977, it put the onus on the private sector. Winnipeg's municipal government has not devised Native-employment policies and programs of its own, since it sees this function as a responsibility of the senior levels of government.

Technically, the federal government is responsible for the education of status Indians, but since the publication of the White Paper on Indian policy in 1969, it has interpreted its responsibility as limited to on-reserve Indians and thus ceases to support them one year after they have left the reserve. This policy places a tremendous burden on the provincial government which, in addition to coping with a rapid increase in school enrolment, arising from urbanization, has a smaller tax base from which to distribute its resources.

At the same time, the latter has taken the stand that the federal government should provide student assistance for post-secondary education to status Indians, and that Natives should be involved more directly in planning special education programs for their own people.

In order to catch up in educational achievement, Native people must be provided with special services. Such programs are expensive, and it is therefore urgent that federal and provincial governments determine how they will share the additional financial burdens, and how they will co-ordinate their efforts.

Since 1867 the federal government has been responsible for the administration of penitentiaries, and the provincial governments manage "public and reformatory" prisons, as well as probation services. It is estimated that in Manitoba, 34 per cent of the penitentiary population is of Indian ancestry. The Parole Board, delegates some of its responsibility for awarding parole to Native organizations and half-way houses. Manitoba and the federal government have shared the cost of a New

Career program, which has trained Native people for jobs in correctional institutions and half-way houses.

Native people also have access to a court-communicators program, funded by the federal Department of Justice, which offers them assistance at any stage of the criminal court process. These court communicators keep offenders in touch with Native organizations, Indian reserves, and other Native communities. There is, however, need for more Native community involvement, since probation services, with enrichment, could retain a significantly greater number of Native offenders under supervision in their home communities as an alternative to imprisonment. In spite of existing efforts, the ratio of Native people under correctional supervision is highly disproportionate to that of the rest of the population, and the root of this situation is poverty. An urgent need exists, therefore, for social and economic development programs in urban centres.

The continuously increasing inequalities between Native and non-Native people in matters of infant mortality, death rates and states of health are strongly related to differences in life-style. Not until drastic changes are made in the environment of Native people will there be any significant improvement in their health standards. Governments should focus on remedying the causes of poor health among Native people rather than on merely providing cures, which, proportionately, are much more costly for Natives than for the general population. The federal government should be responsible for the health of status Indians, whether they live on or off reserves. Currently, because of its policy of 'universality', the federal government has shifted onto provincial governments its reponsibility for status Indians who have moved to the city.

Governments have tackled the problem of the 'welfare syndrome' on a piecemeal basis, and have paid very little attention to alleviating the long-standing circumstances that cut Native people off from the opportunity structure of Canadian society. The consequences of providing only short-term problem solving in the social welfare area are inordinate financial burdens for society, loss of the social and financial contributions of Native people, and the possibility of increased racial tensions.

> The evidence suggests that welfare programming, both on-reserve and off-reserve, is designed to maintain the *status quo*. As *The Real Poverty Report* states: "The problems of the Canadian Indian will not be solved by a shuffling of jurisdictions. And increased social-welfare programs will not help much. What is required, evidently, is a resolve to raise the Indian's standard of living and on the Indian's terms."

Many Native social and political organizations have been formed in Winnipeg to assist Native migrants to cope with emergency situations beyond the limits of present governmental aid. The oldest urban Native organization is the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre (IMFC), established in 1958. It was originally funded by the federal and provincial governments on a 50/50 basis, but in 1972 the federal government undertook core funding of all Friendship Centres across Canada. The federal government expected that Friendship Centres would provide counselling services and referrals to urban Natives, and that other services would be provided by other sources. The Friendship Centres consider that this has not happened, and that they have over-extended themselves. They maintain that they should be funded according to their respective needs and their ability to deliver programs, and that the federal government should assist them to develop programs that would lead to increased employment of Native people in Winnipeg. The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (now called the 'Four Nations Confederacy') argues that the federal government is responsible for status Indians, regardless of their place of residence and regardless of which level of government delivers services to them; it also maintains that Indian people should have the same access to services as that provided to all other citizens of the Province of Manitoba. The Manitoba Métis Federation (MMF) supports Métis people in dealing with their own identity and provides them access to social, economic and educational training programs. The MMF also runs a Native employment agency which helps prepare Native people for the job market and acts as liaison with eventual employers. The Métis Women's Association of Manitoba assists Métis and non-status-Indian women to adapt to urban living. Many social agencies are established in the City of Winnipeg to provide Native people with short-term, day-to-day, essentials such as food, clothing, shelter, drug- and alcohol-related rehabilitation.

In sum, much activity is going on to meet the needs of Native people in Winnipeg, but these efforts are all of a temporary nature. There is a need for co-ordination among the three levels of government and Native people themselves, to ensure maximum program relevance and adequate financing. The provincial government has made it clear that it cannot keep up with the demands placed on its financial resources by the increasing numbers of Native migrants, and it is in agreement with Indian people who insist that the federal government should pay for services to Indians, whether on or off reserves. Future plans made among levels of government should recognize the needs of Métis people, as well as those of Indians.

The conclusion that emerges is that the federal government has been quietly implementing some of the recommendations of its 1969 White Paper on Indian policy, which it has officially abandoned. In fact, it has 'unloaded' federal responsibilities for Indian health, education and welfare onto the Manitoba government or the province's municipal governments and local school boards, and is encouraging the provinces to develop programs that specifically include status Indians as a part of the target population. Urban Indians are the losers because they are caught in the middle of an unending jurisdictional dispute between two levels of government. The provinces cannot be held responsible for urban Indians because they have neither the constitutional authority nor the financial resources required. If this trend towards the urbanization of Native people continues, the social costs will increase with each new generation. The past ten years of circular debate and jurisdictional squabbling have permitted the situation of Manitoba's Indians to become progressively worse. If we have ten more years of inconclusive action, the results, in human terms, will be too disastrous to contemplate.

Government Policies and Programs Relating to People of Indian Ancestry in Saskatchewan

Professor Anderson has selected Regina as his *locus* for studying the interaction of the three levels of government because it has the highest proportion of people of Indian ancestry of all Saskatchewan's urban centres, and because it is perceived as exhibiting acute racial tensions.

The Saskatchewan government expressed concern for the plight of the urban Native as early as 1969, when it formed its Indian and Métis Department to create opportunities for the employment, job-training and business development of Native people. At the same time, the Department of Education took a closer look at its programs for Native people and acknowledged a need for change. The Thatcher government believed that one way to circumvent the discrimination which Native people experience was to create affirmative action programs. This attention to Native issues was short lived, since the New Democratic Party terminated the Native Development Department in 1971, and the Department of Education did not address Native issues until 1979. Urban Native issues were once again addressed in 1978, when the Social Planning

Secretariat (SPS) was set up under the Blakeney government, at a time when the general public was concerned about racial tensions. In 1980-81, the Cabinet adopted an 'Urban Native Package' of $6 million. The 'Package' was criticized by the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians and the Regina Native Women's Association because of insufficient consultation with Native organizations at the program-planning stage and because its level of funding was insufficient to handle the enormity of Native problems.

The Government of Saskatchewan, like that of Manitoba, holds that the federal government should provide status Indians with appropriate services, regardless of their place of residence; however, should the province be obliged to provide services to Indians, it expects to be reimbursed by the federal government. This is also the position of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians. Nevertheless, in practice, after one year of urban residence, status Indians have become a provincial, rather than a federal, responsibility.

The unemployment rate for Saskatchewan's urban Natives varies from 40 to 60 per cent. When these people can find work, they are offered low-paying, jobs, often on a seasonal or temporary basis. Even so, too few Natives have the education and training to handle the jobs that are available; in addition, Natives must often cope with discriminatory barriers to job entry. These barriers can take the form of inflated educational requirements, or they may be the result of the operation of internal labour markets. Affirmative action programs have been designed to force employers to counter these discriminatory practices. In addition, attention must be given to job creation. Unfortunately, the programs that have been intended for that purpose have frequently not been more than short-term work-adjustment and confidence-building activity. In short, both the 'supply-side' and the 'demand-side' position must be dealt with if Native people are to improve their relative economic situation.

Though institutional training is a provincial responsibility, the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) has bought places for Native trainees in Saskatchewan's technical and community colleges; it also arranges with employers for on-the-job training for Native people. The Commission should, however, increase its funding of industrial training, since Native people make up only 2.3 per cent of those enrolled in apprenticeship-training programs.

Saskatchewan's affirmative action policy goes back to 1969, when its Liberal government set a target of recruiting 7 per cent of its public sector employees from the province's Native population. Though this 'Supernumerary Program' did not meet its objective, it did benefit some Native people. In 1980 the Blakeney government launched the 'Native Employment in Government Program', which operates under the Saskatchewan Public Service, and the 'Native Job Training and Employment Program', which functions under the Department of Continuing Education. These programs were introduced to increase Native employment in Crown corporations and in the private sector. However, the impact of the programs is not known.

The economic development model permits Native people to retain their culture and control their businesses while integrating, to a certain extent, into mainstream society. However, such achievements are difficult without sufficient capital. The accumulation of capital is easier for Treaty Indians if they collect royalties and rents from their lands, or if they agree to enter into cash-for-land arrangements. The Métis do not enjoy the same advantage and have, therefore, every interest in settling their aboriginal land claims. The author views the Saskatchewan government's support of expanded Native-employment programs as a sign of its recognition of the need of Native people for self-determination. In spite of the action it has taken so far, however, the government is not keeping pace with developments in the private sector.

Fewer than 10 per cent of Saskatchewan's Native children graduate from high school, and 60 per cent of the province's children of Indian ancestry are scholastically behind its non-Native children by 1.7 to 2.3 years. Some of the causes of this lag are lack of Native teachers; lack of interaction between schools and parents; poor nutrition, which leads to learning disabilities; disorientation caused by excessive family mobility; and, to a certain extent, lack of understanding on the part of non-Native school teachers, which reinforces the Native child's perception that school is a foreign world. To identify a problem, however, is not to arrive at an appropriate solution because people's sensitivities complicate matters. For example, government intervention may be perceived as criticism of the Native people's methods of educating their children. The expenditures required to overcome some of these problems are extremely high and may be considered unjustified by non-Natives. Gradual methods of creating changes generally succeed better than radical ones. The former might include providing seminars on Native culture for non-Native educators, Native class-room assistants, Native pre-kindergarten programs, and Native community-liaison officers.

Convinced that problems have to be dealt with at the elementary-school level, the Social Planning Secretariat (SPS) developed a paper entitled "Community Schools Program", which suggested the adoption of a variety of programs adapted to the particular circumstances of specific schools. Two components of such a program can be a Native Teaching Associates Program and the hiring of Native Community-School Co-ordinators. The SPS also proposed the creation of the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teachers Educational Program (SUNTEP), which is run by the Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research. The creation of this program constituted a clear indication of the provincial government's willingness to give Native people control of their own education.

Although the provincial government's official policy is to avoid establishing separate Native schools, such schools may provide the only way for Native children to catch up with the rest of society and to develop self-esteem. The Native community may support this step if the Community Schools Program suggested in the Urban Native Package does not succeed in producing the required changes with sufficient speed.

Two post-secondary institutions serving the needs of urban Native people are most effective in changing non-Native perception of Native people. These are the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College and the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College; the latter is located on the campus of the University of Regina, and both are administered by people of Indian ancestry.

Native people's interaction with the system of law and justice may occur in connection with police relations, the courts and correctional systems. Because relations between the police and the Native community were somewhat tense, the Regina Native Relations Association began to promote cross-cultural understanding by requiring that police officers attend special seminars on Native culture. In this way the police came to know some Native representatives and became better informed about the Native community; at the same time, Native people had an opportunity to learn about the nature of problems that Regina police had to cope with. This has led to improvements, but an affirmative action program pulling in Native police officers would diminish tensions further. Special programs have been designed to compensate for Native people's disadvantage in dealing with the province's judicial system. The Native Court Workers Program, which is administered by the Saskatchewan Association of Friendship Centres, provides the services of over thirty Native court workers, who act as resource persons to any Native facing the courts. In addition, the Regina Native Counsel Project provides legal aid to Native organizations. Like all other citizens of Saskatchewan, Native people also have access to Legal Aid clinics; the only difficulty is that there are few Native lawyers on the roster. The statistics relating to the ratio of Native to non-Native males in incarceration are striking: 23.3 to 1.0 for Indians, and 71.5 to 1.0 for Métis and non-status Indians. For females these ratios are 88 to 1 and 19 to 1. Since many of the offences consist of non-payment of fines, the Fine Options Program was instituted whereby an offender can work for his community, rather than spend time in jail. Poverty and discrimination are the major causes of the high rate of imprisonment of Native people. More radical solutions to this problem must be found by ameliorating the socio-economic circumstances of Native citizens, rather than focusing only on the correctional system.

Both Native leaders and the non-Native public are uncomfortable with the conditions that welfare programming has created. Solutions such as the creation of job opportunities, the development of strong social, cultural and political institutions, and an independent economic base have been proposed, but everyone agrees that people need to survive during the period of transition.

The federal government is willing to make welfare available to Indians living on reserves or to Indians who have moved off reserves for a one-year period, after which provincial assistance must be sought. The position of the provincial government and of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI) is the same: that is, all services to Treaty Indians, on or off reserves, should be paid for by the federal government. The provincial government has established a Family Income Plan, which is an income supplement for the working poor, but few Native people are aware of it.

There are other significant social problems that perturb Natives. For instance, Indian children are 7.9 times as likely as non-Indian children to be placed in a child-care program. Many Native children are placed in care in non-Native homes, although the Department of Social Services now attempts to place Native children with Native families. Few Native mothers can afford day-care services in order to work full time, and therefore cannot emerge from poverty.

The statistics pertaining to the health of Native citizens are no more reassuring than are those pertaining to their other social conditions. Indian people require twice as much hospital care as non-Natives; their suicide rate is higher; their neo-natal mortality rates are higher, as are their rates of respiratory diseases and of violence-related deaths. The health of Native people will not improve significantly until efforts are made to restructure their socio-economic conditions, and until the existing jurisdictional dispute between the two senior levels of government is resolved. At present, Indians believe that health services should be provided free of cost to all Treaty Indians, regardless of their place of residence. The Minister of National Health and Welfare stated in 1979:

> With respect to Registered Indians residing permanently off-reserve, the policy reiterates that they should receive health services from the province or municipality of residence, but if such services are denied, the federal government will attempt to ensure their provision.

The position of the Province of Saskatchewan is that the federal government is responsible for health-care costs relating to all Treaty Indians, but should the province be required to provide health services, it should be reimbursed by the federal government. The FSI, however, does not support provincial involvement; rather it holds that Natives prefer to manage their own health-care system with federal funding. The issue is political, not technical.

The stock of housing that urban Natives can afford is limited and of poor quality, and these circumstances lead to excessive mobility and overcrowding. Because of the stereotype that they neglect their houses, Native people who can afford adequate housing face discrimination on the part of landlords. Moreover, since many cannot afford transportation, they remain in the city's inner core, where ghetto-like conditions of poverty prevail. Though the Government of Saskatchewan's Native-housing policy seems to have been based on an integrative model, in effect, this approach increases Native people's sense of isolation. On the other hand, in order to have some political voice, to have a sense of community, and to enjoy access to a variety of services, some degree of concentration of the Native community seems appropriate. The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Saskatchewan Housing Corporation (SHC) have somewhat relaxed their policies and are beginning to recognize the value of such concentration. Though, until 1979, SHC allocated a small part of its budget to Native housing, it decided to increase substantially its spending for 'low-income people', as of the year 1980-81. There is a trend towards Native housing projects, such as the Acquisition of Existing Housing for People of Native Ancestry Program, the Native Pilot Project, and the Infil Project. At the time of writing, however, only small numbers of Native people had benefited from these projects. It is, perhaps, in the area of housing that Native people face the highest degree of discrimination.

Since the early 1960s, certain major Native organizations have worked to give Native people access to political power. The Federation of Saskatchewan Indians and the Association of Métis and Non-status Indians (AMNSIS), though federally and provincially supported, are striving to achieve Native self-determination and to settle with the governments issues of "land claims, aboriginal rights, tax and royalty sharing so that they can achieve true economic independence."

The Regina Friendship Centre and the Regina Native Women's Association devote their energies to meeting day-to-day social needs of urban Natives. The Regina Native Relations Association, funded by the

Department of the Solicitor General, the Secretary of State, the Donner Canadian Foundation, and the City of Regina, works at changing the perceptions that Native people and non-Native people (particularly the Regina police) have of one another. In spite of the existence of these organizations, there is an area where Native people are at a disadvantage: they are not represented at any of the three levels of government or on the Regina School Board or the Catholic School Board. Perhaps the advent of the ward system at the municipal level and at the school-board level will, through block-voting, give Natives a voice in the public domain.

The government policies that have emerged, particularly since 1977, have largely ignored the fundamental areas of Native dissatisfaction, such as land claims, aboriginal rights, Native control of education, tax and royalty sharing. Native leaders perceive that they cannot reach a stage of effective self-determination within the present Canadian political structure and are therefore considering, more and more, the establishment of parallel Indian institutions to control their own destiny. What underlies all these issues and tensions is a power struggle which will be more and more difficult to ignore as Native people become more and more urbanized.

Government Policies and Programs Relating to Urban People of Indian Ancestry in Alberta

Dr. Frideres states that ever since the Royal Proclamation of 1763, federal Native policy has been assimilative, though more recently it has taken on shades of multiculturalism. The Government of Alberta stresses individualism, but it also emulates, to a certain extent, the federal government's ideology of assimilation. There is an expectation today that Indian people should view the provincial and federal governments as partners in all matters of concern to themselves. The Alberta government set up a Ministry of Native Affairs to monitor Native programs offered by other departments, but this Ministry functions merely as a secretariat and does not make policy, nor does it deliver any particular program. The Métis people are not under federal jurisdiction, but have had a special relationship with the Alberta government since 1938, when eight 'colonies' were set aside for their use. Since the early 1950s, Métis people have been struggling to convince the Government of Alberta that they should benefit from the oil and gas royalties deriving from the lands which they occupy. Since 1980 the Alberta Métis have been under the jurisdiction of the Department of Municipal Affairs.

Private Native programs are included in this analysis, as well as government programs, because Alberta is unique in that many Native programs are delivered by non-governmental organizations which are funded by the provincial government. Native migration to urban centres in Alberta has been a growing trend since the mid-1960s, but it was not until 1975 that governments began to take this reality into consideration in their programming.

Because the Alberta government sensed that the federal government intended to pass on to the provinces the financial responsibility for delivery of services to Indian people, it produced, in 1969, the Alberta White Paper in which these recommendations are made: that all citizens of Alberta regardless of their ethnic or racial origin, have equal access to all services in Alberta; that the federal government should ensure that Indians under their jurisdiction and Métis and Indians under provincial jurisdiction have the same access to services and programs available to other citizens of Alberta; and that Native self-determination be encouraged. In the same year, the federal government indicated in its White Paper that its objective was to sever its ties with Indian people, by suggesting that the provincial governments be responsible for Indians living in provincial territory. Though Alberta does not confer special status on Indians, it would, nevertheless, not object to the federal government's delivery of special programs to Treaty Indians.

In 1978 Alberta devised a policy whereby it would "assume the full cost of delivering services to Treaty Indians residing off reserve, provided that the federal government agreed to furnish and maintain a level of service to Indians on reserves equivalent to the provincial standards, and to reimburse the province fully for the services it delivers to Indians on reserves on a fee-for-service basis." By 1981 this policy had not been implemented, since Indians consider that its implications are unclear.

In 1981 the Alberta government announced a plan to assist Native businesses that displayed potential to become successful operations, and it encouraged the formation of a private industry committee to raise funds for the establishment of new businesses. The federal government set up the Indian Economic Development Fund, but Indians did not use it much because, in order to obtain a loan, they had to have personal cash investments, and the loans had to be secured by realizable assets.

Regarding employment policies, the Government of Alberta holds that all its citizens have the right to expect an opportunity to achieve the highest income possible and have the obligation to contribute to society through productive employment. But with regard to manpower and economic development, it does not regard Indians who live on reserves as entitled to the same rights as other Albertans, since they do not pay taxes. It does, however, believe that in order to break the Native poverty cycle, training and education programs and the development of an economic base within the province's economic structure are essential. Though the provincial government's policy recognizes the cultural differences between Natives and non-Natives, it assesses Native programs on their own merits while it provides special services as needed.

The Government of Alberta has attempted to increase job creation through its own public service, the construction of capital projects, and its regulatory activities, though its policy implies that it sees job creation as a responsibility of the private sector. Though 15 per cent of job-creation programs emanate from the provincial government, very few of these programs pertain to urban Natives. The federal government, however, has set up a few programs that encourage job creation for Native people. These include the Indian Economic Development Direct Loan Program, the Indian Economic Development Guarantee Program, the Indian Equity Foundation, and the Alberta Indian Agriculture Development Corporation. However, it is clear that both the federal government and the Alberta government would prefer that private enterprise assume responsibility for job creation for Native people.

Because of its policy of preparing Native people for the existing job market, two pre-employment programs have been put into place: Career Centres and the Employment Counselling and Relocation Services (ECRS). The latter is funded by Alberta and Canada under the Alberta North Agreement, and its objective is to assist Native families to relocate in urban communities in order to avail themselves of employment opportunities. A third pre-employment program, which is partially funded by the government, is the Native (Women) Employment Training Program, which attempts to motivate women who have settled in urban centres to seek employment.

Fewer than 10 per cent of Native people attend post-secondary educational institutions in Alberta (that is, universities, colleges, and technical schools). Native people can attend Alberta's Vocational Centres (AVCs) if they require basic life-skills training and skills upgrading, or Community Vocational Centres (CVCs) if they require academic upgrading and basic job-readiness training. The AVCs and the CVCs were designed to respond to the needs of the adult non-traditional learner who lacks training or a particular skill to fit the job market. The Alberta government is the only one in Canada to supply trainees with an income supplement while they are attending courses.

In 1967 Canada Manpower established Native Outreach, to provide a

Native-language job-placement service specifically for Native people. This service facilitates the entry of Native persons into the labour force, counsels them on the skills required to become productive workers, and has provided a union-dues trust fund for their use. Native Outreach has created links with businesses, government and unions that are potential employers of Native people.

Until the 1960s, Indian primary and secondary education took place in residential schools funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and administered by religious institutions. Influenced by a decision of the United States Supreme Court that "racially segregated schools were inherently inferior to integrated schools", provincial and federal educational administrators took the position that separate schools for Native children would prevent them from entering mainstream Canadian society, and residential schools were consequently abandoned. The Alberta government accepted the responsibility for providing schools and trained teachers for Indian children on condition that the federal government would reimburse it for all the services it provided to Indian children.

The socio-political events of the late 1960s and early 1970s forced Native people to acknowledge publicly that responsibility for Indian education was passing from the federal government to the provincial government; nor were they consulted in the process. Native people saw this development as forced integration and reacted, in 1972, by publishing, through the National Indian Brotherhood, a document entitled "Indian Control of Indian Education". In 1973 this view was accepted by administrators of Alberta's Indian and Inuit Affairs Program. The reaction of the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) to the White Paper was to press for the creation of Cultural Education Centres, which were intended to offer Indians an alternate form of education that would build up their sense of self-worth.

Native education in Alberta is still in a state of flux, with each actor unable to convince the others of the validity of its own direction. The Cultural Education Centres were funded, as of 1971, by the Secretary of State, and eventually came under the control of the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program (IIAP). However, the IIAP emphasized Indian culture and distributed its limited funds to Indian bands; for this reason, the IAA's original plan was never implemented. Alberta has instituted an Educational Opportunities Fund, which provides special educational upgrading services to all students in Alberta's elementary and junior high schools, as well as a compensatory program for students whose low academic achievements are the result of their families' disadvantaged socio-economic conditions. Alberta has established pre-school, in-school, and post-school programs, aimed particularly at helping Native children to develop a positive self-image.

Cultural programs stress that if a Native person is confident about his identity and self-worth, he will have less difficulty in adapting to a larger society which is non-Native. Academic programs provide tutoring, counselling and office space to Native students enrolled in the University of Alberta, the University of Calgary and the University of Lethbridge; the last provides a Native Studies Program open to all students. Teacher-training programs, such as that offered at Blue Quills, are based on the belief that Native teachers serve as role models for Native students, understand their students' culture and life-style, and can therefore educate them more effectively.

Certain areas of contention pertinent to Native education remain to be worked out. Should Native education, for example, be provided in an exclusively Native environment, or should Native children enter the regular school system at Grade 1? Policy with respect to Native education is formulated at various levels of the Alberta Department of Education, but teachers do not perceive or interpret this policy in a consistent fashion. Native education is not a high priority for all members of the Department of Education, and communication and co-ordination of ongoing activities are limited.

Alberta's police are more tolerant of deviant behaviour on the part of Natives than of non-Natives. Nevertheless, there has been an increase in the number of Native persons in correctional institutions, and Native inmates outnumber non-Native offenders. Federal and provincial policies are based either on the rehabilitation model or on the personal reformation model; in the former, society has the responsibility to rehabilitate the prisoner, while in the latter, it is up to the offender to modify his aberrant behaviour. A third model, which seems more appropriate to Native offenders, is the community-based correctional centre which allows an offender to work productively in his community as an alternative to imprisonment.

In the mid-1970s, the federal government established the RCMP Indian Special Constable program (the 3B Option) in order to encourage Natives to become involved in the administration of justice. The provincial government funds private agencies, such as the Assistant Probation Officer Program, the Community Service Order and the Fine Options Program. The cities of Calgary and Edmonton have hired Native liaison officers whose role is to open communications between the Native community and the municipal police force.

Native people in Alberta have access to the following services: Native Counselling Services of Alberta (NCSA), Criminal Court Workers, Family Court Workers, and the Legal Aid Society. Of these four, only NCSA officially and structurally recognizes that there are major cultural differences between Natives and non-Natives. NCSA is highly visible in Alberta: it is recognized by Native people and is funded by the Government of Alberta, though initially it was supported by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Its purpose is to familiarize Native people with the legal system, to offer them appropriate guidance when they are involved with the law, and to assist the community at large in understanding Native people. The Criminal Court Workers and the Family Court Workers programs fall within the jurisdiction of NCSA. The former provides legal assistance and counselling to Natives at any point of their involvement with the law; the latter work at keeping families together where a member has been or is involved with the law; they also work with juveniles in detention centres. The Legal Aid Society "provides legal services for any person in Alberta charged with an indictable offense...and for litigants in civil matters who are not financially able to pay for lawyer's services." The Legal Aid Society allows Native people to have access to lawyers, and it works with NCSA to ensure that court workers are familiar with the legal process. Some 30 per cent of Legal Aid's clientèle is of Indian ancestry. NCSA has also worked out an agreement with the Canadian Penitentiary Service to establish Liaison Officers in federal and provincial jails; these Officers provide information services to Native inmates. In addition, NCSA promotes a Native Brotherhood program within Alberta's jails, which is intended to improve Native people's self-image. In 1979 Alberta created an Assistant Probation Officer (APO) Program specifically for Native people. This program employs and trains Native people, who then work with parolees in their own communities.

Community Residential/Corrections Centres also operate in Alberta. These are transition houses, where offenders are provided with the counselling services they require to re-enter society. Community Residential Programs choose their clientèle on the basis of the offender's assessed ability to get through the program smoothly. Native offenders, who are usually considered poor risks because of their disadvantaged background, are consequently kept out of the best programs.

It is difficult to determine which level of government is responsible for what type of health-care service in Alberta, what are the residence requirements, and who qualifies. The death rate of Native people in the province is twice as high as that of non-Natives. Though the federal government does not agree that health care is an aboriginal or treaty right, health services for Indians, originally under the control of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, are now administered by the Department of National Health and Welfare. The Government of Alberta holds that the provision of health services to Treaty Indians is a federal responsibility, and that the health of Natives will not improve until efforts are made to better their social condition. The federal government prefers that the province provide integrated health services that cover Alberta's Treaty Indians, and it now insists that Indians fulfill certain conditions of residence before it will provide them with health benefits. Native people complain that they have not been consulted sufficiently on health matters, and they advocate a long-term program that would include educational, preventive, curative, environmental and community elements.

The Alberta government claims that it is best suited to provide social welfare services to its Native people because it is more sensitive to Native needs than are the federal and municipal governments. In fact, in 1976, Native people in Edmonton were receiving 20 per cent of the city's social allowance budget, while they made up only 5 per cent of its population. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development provides welfare assistance to Treaty Indians only through its Social Assistance Program, the object of which is to encourage and assist Native people in becoming self-sufficient.

Under Alberta's Department of Social Services and Community Health, Native people have access to a variety of services provided, particularly, by Preventive Social Services and the Social Service Division. The former unit provides, for example, the Family Life

Improvement Plan (FLIP), the Urban Skills Centre, the N'Gawee Day Care Centre, the Bissell Child Care Centre, and the Calgary Single Men's Hostel. The Social Services Division offers maintenance payments, financial allowances and health services to Natives in need who are trying to find employment in urban areas. (Under the Canada Assistance Plan, the Government of Alberta can be reimbursed by the federal government for 50 per cent of the funding of such assistance.) Under the Child Welfare Branch, urban Natives have access to Native Counselling Services, programs offered by the Voice of Alberta Native Women, and foster care facilities. When the Government of Alberta provides these services to Treaty Indians, it is reimbursed by the federal government. There is an attempt in Alberta to place Native children in Native foster homes, insofar as possible, because of the belief that Native people are better equipped to care for Native children.

A second important body that shares responsibility for Alberta's health-and-welfare administration is the Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission (AADAC), whose mandate is the treatment and prevention of alcohol and drug abuse, and the extension of public awareness of these matters. AADAC centres are community based, and many are staffed by people of Indian ancestry.

A third agency created for the benefit of Native people is the Native Secretariat. It acts as a buffer between the provincial government and Native people and tries to ensure that the latter enjoy the same privileges as other Albertans. However, Alberta's Indians prefer to deal directly with government departments and perceive the NS as redundant.

A 1977 survey of Native housing in Alberta indicated that 37 per cent of Native dwellings require major repairs, that 39 per cent housed two or more families, and that these conditions were more prevalent in urban areas. The creation of the Canative Housing Corporation was an attempt by the provincial and federal governments to solve some of these problems by purchasing housing units for the use of large Native families who had very low incomes. This program was successful from 1972 to 1977, but in 1976 CMHC cancelled its funding. Today these dwellings are mostly occupied by Native single-parent families on welfare. Native families wishing to settle in urban communities can apply for the Transitional Program, which is available in important areas of industrial activity and provides them with a dwelling at a cost of 25 per cent of their income. There is very little housing subsidization in Alberta's urban areas, since federal aid is available only for towns of less than 2000 people, and provincial subsidies are conditional on the province's holding title to the property.

Native organizations began to emerge in Alberta in the 1920s, but it was not until the late 1960s that they became highly politicized as a result of the federal government's introduction of its 1969 White Paper. The policy of the Indian Association of Alberta is to strive for Indian control of Indian Affairs: that is, legislative, executive and administrative authority over their lands, their resources, and their people. In the past three decades, Native organizations have focused on education, their relationship with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and treaty and aboriginal rights; in the 1980s patriation of Canada's Constitution, land claims and Indian culture seem to be their dominant concerns. The other major Native group is the Métis Association of Alberta, for which the issue of civil rights is a greater priority; it is also struggling to gain control of Alberta's Métis settlements. Though the Indian Association of Alberta and the Métis Association are located in Edmonton, they are more concerned with rural issues or with the provision of services on the reserve than with all the problems relating to the urbanization of Native people. The province's Native organizations are funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Secretary of State, the Government of

Alberta, and some private sources. The Voice of Alberta Native Women's Society is another Native organization whose clientèle includes both status and non-status Indians; it lobbies for Native interests. Alberta Culture funds specific programs designed to promote Native culture, such as the Alberta Native Communications Society, Indian News Media, Friendship Centres, and Native Awareness Week.

In the urban context, the major groups that provide financial assistance and referrals to newly arrived Native migrants are the Native Friendship Centres. The Centres receive core funding from the Secretary of State, and their specific programs are funded by the Native Secretariat, the United Community Fund, the Canada Works Program, and the Government of Alberta. The Calgary Urban Indian Youth Organization is another referral service where Indians may also benefit from educational and cultural programs. Native organizations in Alberta continue to be funded by governments and are therefore subject to policies and programs that rarely coincide with their own objectives. Federal and provincial governments are not convinced that the Indian Association of Alberta and the Métis Society represent all Native people in Alberta.

Finally, the author introduces a typology of organizations dealing with Natives in Alberta. The policies and orientation of these organizations vary according to the source of control, be it federal, provincial, or Native. Organizations are made up of administrators, caseworkers, clients, and community leaders who hold a particular set of values. Often cleavages occur along different 'levels' of an organization, depending on its particular type. Type 'A', or public service, organizations offer services to all citizens of Alberta, Native and non-Native; Types 'B' and 'C' are acculturative organizations: that is, their underlying objective is the assimilation of Native people into Canadian society. In Type 'B' organizations, cleavages occur between administrators and clients; and in

Type 'C', the fact that some caseworkers and clients are Native, but administrators and most members of the community are non-Native can create cleavages along racial lines. Type 'D' and Type 'E' organizations are accommodative: that is, they acknowledge Native culture in the formation of their policies and programs; in Type 'D' organizations, there is a split between community leaders and the rest of the organizational structure; funding is difficult to obtain, and Type 'D' groups are often dependent on Type 'A' organizations, a dependency which, in turn, "prevents the consolidation and integration of social services for urban Natives." Type 'E' organizations are fraternal and entirely Native and are often dependent on government funding.

Many urban Indians have maintained close ties with their reserves; indeed, they may establish a pattern of dual residency, returning often from the city to the reserve, because of the treatment they receive from the various types of organizations with which they come in contact and the nature of the relationships between them. The author contends that this is the "critical factor in many Natives' lack of success in adapting to urban life." There is a lack of consensus among these various organizations on the goals and objectives of Native policy and on the extent and direction of program funding and development.

Recent Evolution of Canada's Indian Policy

In his chapter on the "Recent Evolution of Canada's Indian Policy", Mr. Bostrom states that the British government's intent between 1830 and 1860 was to assimilate Indians; on the other hand, it adopted practices, such as the establishment of reserves, that were isolationist and therefore contrary to this policy. The policy, perpetuated from 1860 onward, when Indian Affairs was transferred from British to Canadian administration, has placed Indians in an inferior stituation: a federal trusteeship has prevented them from exercising any significant degree of control over the use of their lands and resources, and consequently, they have been subject to an erosion of their culture and traditional way of life. In spite of these restrictions, Indian people do not wish to sever their relationship with Canada's federal government because, they insist, they are entitled to some form of reparation for the injustices of the past. It was not until 1964 that the federal government attempted, unsuccessfully, to shift some of its responsibilities for Indians to provincial governments. The introduction, in 1969, of the federal White Paper on Indian policy formalized this objective, but the White Paper was so severely criticized by Indians because they had not been consulted about its contents that the government had to revoke it officially. Nevertheless, the government has been succeeding in gradually transferring "Indian services to federal departments other than the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and to the provinces."

In 1964 the federal government proposed a function-by-function approach to the eventual provision of all programs and services to Indians, by transferring to provincial governments the funds required. The rationale behind this cost-sharing agreement was that per capita costs for providing services to Indians would decrease as Indians adapted successfully to mainstream Canadian society. A 1964 federal-provincial conference on Indian affairs, calling for the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of Native people and the establishment of committees to examine implications of cost-sharing agreements and of consultation with Native people seemed to have resulted in a fair measure of consensus. The only function considered, however, was welfare, and all provinces, except Ontario, refused to sign an agreement whereby the federal Department of National Health and Welfare undertook to pay 97 per cent of the cost of Indian welfare programs.

In 1966 a ministerial conference on Native issues recommended to the Prairie Economic Council that programs and services for people of Indian ancestry be modified, and that any new system of delivery be designed to operate through a comprehensive, rather than a function-by-function, approach. These recommendations were passed on to the Prime Minister of Canada in 1967, but no action was taken on them, partly because of the change in federal leadership and the ensuing Cabinet shuffle. Other Premiers' and Deputy Ministers' conferences in 1968 addressed the Native question, but no solutions were implemented, and the federal government withdrew from further negotiations with the provinces. At the request of the Prime Minister, who wanted to solve the Native dilemma once and for all, an interdepartmental committee was quietly preparing the White Paper on Indian policy which appeared in 1969.

The White Paper called for the phasing out of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development over a five-year period; the removal of legislative and constitutional bases of dicrimination, which would mean the repeal of the Indian Act; the transfer of control of Indian lands to Indian people; the provision of services to Indians by the same government departments and agencies, whether federal or provincial, that are available to other Canadians; provision of funds for Indian economic development; the appointment of a Commissioner of Land Claims; and the co-operation of the National Indian Brotherhood in implementing the new Indian policy. The Paper was based on the premise that "special legal and administrative structures and provisions that governed Indian people were 'discriminatory', and that simply to do away with the special status of Indians would ensure their immediate well-being and future development." Indian communities across Canada denounced the White Paper because they had not been consulted in its preparation, though in 1968-69 they had been consulted about a revision of the Indian Act.

The publication of the White Paper is the most important historical event to contribute to the cohesion of people of Indian ancestry in Canada and to give them a sense of common goals. In 1970 the Indian Association of Alberta, with the endorsement of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, presented Prime Minister Trudeau with a Red Paper. This Paper stressed that:

- The recognition of Indian status is essential for justice.
- The federal government is bound by the British North America Act to accept legislative responsibility for Indians and Indian lands and cannot transfer responsibilities to the provinces at will.
- The elimination of the Indian Act is neither possible nor desirable.

The Prime Minister agreed to give Native people the opportunity to search for their own solutions and promised that no unilateral decisions would be taken on their behalf. As a result of the demise of the White Paper, the federal government was left without a specific Indian policy, and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development appeared in a state of disarray. Indians, however, were left in a much stronger position, and their organizations began to receive larger federal grants which permitted them to expand considerably.

From 1970 to 1976, the federal government practised a pragmatic strategy which seemed to apply the objectives of the White Paper. Furthermore, it opted for the establishment of consultative machinery at the Cabinet level, which would improve its relations with Indian people; but it retains the expectation that provincial governments will continue to play a greater role in the provision of services to Indian people. A federal reading of the present situation can be summarized as follows:

> The provinces are willing to extend services to Indians under acceptable arrangements, but will not do so unless invited by both Indians and the federal government. Indians are reluctant to press the provinces for services, even though they recognize

> the need to do so, because of their anxiety about erosion of their special status.
>
> The federal government plans, therefore, once the new federal-Indian consultation machinery is established and working, to bring provinces into its discussions with Indian groups.

Another way in which treaty Indians are seriously affected by the policy of the 1969 White Paper lies in the budgetary limitations that are being imposed on the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. There has been a tendency to submerge expenditures on behalf of Indian people in the budgets of other departments and agencies, without much consideration of the policy implications of this action or of the impact that it might have on the well-being of Indian people. In view of budgetary restrictions, it is more important than ever to ensure that whatever money is available should be spent effectively.

In view of the various problems that have been identified, it will be essential for the provincial governments to be involved with the federal government in any discussion with Native people.

> A provincial government, because it is closer to the scene, can bring to the awareness of both the federal government and the Indian people, the import of such a phenomenon as Indian urbanization. In doing so, it may be able to ensure that an increasing exodus from Indian reserves does not become an excuse for another variation of federal 'termination'.

Government Policies and Programs Relating to Urban Indians: An Analysis of the American Experience

The chapter, prepared by Professor John Price, constitutes a description

of the American administration's policies relating to the urbanization of Indians. Comparisons with the Canadian government's policies are interwoven through the text. Initially, the author reviews the determinants of Indian urbanization, that is, those cultural features that have influenced urbanization patterns. Compared to their counterparts in British North America, Indians living under French-Canadian influence tend to enjoy a better quality of life. They also display somewhat distinct patterns of urbanization and ethnic institutions.

The traditional evolutionary level reached by a Native society influences the capacity for the urban adjustment of its members so that individuals from societies with a simple band heritage are currently experiencing a disproportionate number of problems in urban adjustment. Other elements of heritage also effect the capacity of a Native society for urban adjustment; among these elements are, for example, valuing an aboriginal style above a colonial style of reservation life, and a location of moderate urban proximity as contrasted with both very close urban proximity and distant rural and bush settings of reserves.

A review is made of major, long-term, policy issues which are the primary foci of Indian policy and programs at the federal, rather than the state, level; conflicts of interest within federal bureaucracies; the land-cession treaties and land-claims cases; aboriginal and treaty rights; migration from reserves to cities; and the reaction against policies to promote termination of special status. Recent major policy changes in the United States, principally those made since the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act, are listed in sequence. Most of these changes were made to resolve a series of problems that arise under the general policy of self-determination without termination of special status. Indians have rights as individual citizens under the American constitution and another set of somewhat conflicting rights as members of semi-sovereign tribes. For example, since tribes need not separate the administrative, legislative,

and judicial functions of their tribal governments, a tribal council can carry out all of these functions. Criteria were developed to decide the eligibility of off-reservation Indians to participate in government programs.

Brief descriptions of the major programs for Indians, as well as pertinent organizational charts, give a clear picture of the diverse ways in which the American government distributes responsibility for Indian affairs. Before the mid-1970s, that government's strategy was to use Indian employees in departments and agencies that served Indians. A more recent approach has been to encourage Indians to achieve self-determination, through the transfer of powers to bands and tribal governments.

After comparing the American and Canadian policies relating to Indians, the author concludes that the American policies and programs are more extensive, more explicit, more closely defined by statutes, more sensitive to the individual differences among Indian societies, and more advanced in dealing with the issues of urbanization and self-determination than are their Canadian counterparts.

Appendix A lists chronologically events related to American policies on indians. The list covers the long conquest and colonization phase of American history; a brief attempt, in the late 1920s and the 1930s, to reinforce the politics and customs of Indian cultures; a swing, which lasted from 1940s to the end of the 1960s, towards the termination of special government relationships with Indians; the current phase, beginning about 1968, of self-determination without the termination of special status.

Appendix B lists by date landmark occurrences in the United States and Canada that relate to native culture and government policy.

Abrégé

L'urbanisation des Amérindiens qui s'est produite au cours des deux dernières décennies, a forcé les trois paliers de gouvernement canadien à réévaluer tout le secteur de la politique publique et à reconsidérer leurs champs de responsabilités respectifs face aux Canadiens d'origine autochtone. C'est cette évolution qui a entraîné la présente étude des politiques et programmes gouvernementaux élaborés pour les Amérindiens qui vivent dans les centres urbains des trois provinces des Prairies.

Cette étude traite des programmes et politiques qui, d'une manière ou d'une autre, affectent le vécu des citadins amérindiens. Elle est axée sur les secteurs politiques suivants : l'emploi et le développement économique, l'éducation, le droit et la justice, la santé, le bien-être et le logement. Elle brosse un tableau des organisations et agences, autochtones ou autres, qui opèrent dans ces domaines. Le rapport inclut trois études provinciales, une analyse de l'évolution récente de la politique amérindienne du Canada et un survol de l'expérience américaine avec les Amérindiens vivant en milieu urbain. Cette étude repose sur des données recueillies en 1979 et 1980. Même si certains programmes ont été

modifiés depuis lors, leur orientation générale diffère peu de ce qu'elle était en 1980 et les analyses qui suivent restent donc pertinentes.

Les nombreuses questions sous-jacentes aux querelles qui opposent les communautés canadiennes autochtones et non-autochtones ne peuvent être résolues qu'à travers le processus politique. Les gouvernements devraient-ils élaborer des programmes spécifiques pour les Amérindiens ou, au contraire, les populations autochtones ne devraient-elles avoir accès qu'aux programmes disponibles aux autres Canadiens qui éprouvent des besoins particuliers? D'autre part, puisque jusqu'à maintenant, seuls les Indiens de droit ont joui de rapports priviliégiés avec le gouvernement fédéral, faudrait-il donc que les programmes créés à leur intention reconnaissent explicitement les différentes catégories d'autochtones? Devrait-on concevoir des programmes pour accélérer l'intégration des Amérindiens à la société canadienne ou faudrait-il plutôt que les institutions non-autochtones essaient d'améliorer leur compréhension de la culture amérindienne et d'offrir aux Amérindiens de meilleures chances de préserver leurs propres traditions? Par quel palier de gouvernement les programmes amérindiens devraient-ils être subventionnés? Le gouvernement fédéral n'est-il pas responsable des Amérindiens que lorsqu'ils vivent dans les réserves? Devrait-on encourager les Amérindiens à émigrer vers les villes ou encore tenter d'améliorer les conditions socio-économiques qui prévalent dans les réserves? Il semble que la notion d'égalité entre les citoyens canadiens d'origine amérindienne ou autre fasse l'objet d'un consensus assez général, mais on ne semble pas s'entendre ni sur la façon d'atteindre ce but ultime, ni sur la signification du mot « égalité » en termes pratiques, du moins en ce qui concerne les institutions.

Politiques et programmes gouvernementaux destinés aux Amérindiens du Manitoba

Au Manitoba, l'analyse des programmes gouvernementaux créés à l'intention des Amérindiens vivant en milieu urbain s'est limitée à la ville de Winnipeg puisque l'on y retrouve 97 pour cent de la population d'origine autochtone ayant choisi de vivre dans les villes manitobaines. Bien que de nombreux Amérindiens se soient harmonieusement adaptés à la vie en milieu urbain, la plupart d'entre eux vivent dans les centres-villes, dans un état de pauvreté abjecte, et dans des conditions de logement et d'hygiène déplorables. Peu instruits, ils ont peu de chances de trouver des emplois permanents et ils sont donc très dépendants de l'aide financière des gouvernements. D'autres indices nous laissent entrevoir les difficultés que les Amérindiens connaissent en milieu urbain. Les taux de mortalité infantile et d'hospitalisation sont exceptionnellement élevés dans la population amérindienne. Le taux d'anomalies congénitales augmente de façon inquiétante chez leurs enfants. En quête de meilleurs conditions de vie, ils déménagent fréquemment et subissent tous les contrecoups de cette instabilité sur les plans social et scolaire. Un nombre important d'enfants amérindiens est pris en charge par la Société d'aide à l'enfance et le taux d'emprisonnement et de récidive est très élevé chez les Amérindiens, bien que ces condamnations soient souvent imputables à des délits mineurs. Les problèmes sont aussi nombreux que sérieux et les Amérindiens ne peuvent les solutionner seuls. Tous les paliers de gouvernement, fédéral, provincial et municipal, doivent être impliqués.

Le chômage est le problème le plus sérieux auquel les Amérindiens soient confrontés dans le contexte urbain. Peu préparés aux réalités du travail en milieu industriel, ils sont souvent sans métier ou trop peu instruits et, par conséquent, ils perdent rapidement le sentiment de leur valeur personnelle. Les programmes élaborés par les gouvernements provincial et fédéral dans ce domaine ont été sporadiques, de courte durée et insuffisamment coordonnés. Certains programmes permettent aux entrepreneurs amérindiens d'obtenir des prêts au financement, mais ils ne comportent aucun volet permettant aux bénéficiaires de développer leurs aptitudes de gestionnaires. Les organisations amérindiennes ont souvent réclamé des programmes de formation appropriés à l'environnement urbain et des cours conçus pour les familiariser avec le travail industriel. Les dirigeants de ces organisations se plaignent souvent de ne pouvoir tenir compte des programmes gouvernementaux dans leur planification à long terme, car ils sont de courte durée et souvent abolis sans aucune explication.

Le gouvernement fédéral a créé plusieurs programmes visant à résoudre les problèmes de chômage, mais un seul demeure en application soit le « Plan d'initiatives d'emploi local ». Jusqu'en 1977, le gouvernement provincial agissait selon le principe que des programmes de formation et d'apprentissage permettraient d'intégrer les Amérindiens à la population active. Depuis 1977, ce même gouvernement a confié cette charge au secteur privé. Pour sa part, estimant que cette responsabilité revenait aux deux autres paliers de gouvernement, le gouvernement municipal de Winnipeg n'a élaboré aucun programme ou politique d'emploi à l'intention des Amérindiens.

Théoriquement, le gouvernement fédéral est responsable de l'éducation des Indiens de droit mais, depuis la parution du Livre blanc sur la politique indienne, en 1969, le fédéral considère que sa responsabilité se limite aux Amérindiens qui vivent dans les réserves. Il cesse donc de les aider financièrement un an après leur départ de ces réserves. Cette politique impose un fardeau important au gouvernement provincial qui, en plus de faire face à l'augmentation rapide des inscriptions scolaires consécutive à l'urbanisation, doit se contenter d'une assise fiscale moins importante pour distribuer ses largesses.

Par ailleurs, le gouvernement provincial affirme qu'il appartient au gouvernement fédéral d'accorder prêts et bourses aux Indiens de droit qui font des études post-secondaires, et que les autochtones devraient être impliqués plus directement dans l'élaboration des programmes spéciaux d'enseignement destinés aux leurs.

On doit fournir aux autochtones des services spéciaux afin de leur permettre d'effectuer un rattrapage sur le plan académique. Ces programmes sont onéreux et, par conséquent, il est urgent que les gouvernements provincial et fédéral en viennent à une entente quant au partage de ce fardeau financier supplémentaire et à la façon dont ils coordonneront leurs efforts.

Depuis 1867, le gouvernement fédéral est responsable de l'administration des pénitenciers tandis que les gouvernements provinciaux gèrent les prisons de droit commun et les écoles de réforme ainsi que les services de probation. Au Manitoba, on estime que 34 pour cent des détenus sont d'origine autochtone. La Commission des libérations conditionnelles délègue aux organisations autochtones et aux maisons de transition une part de ses responsabilités dans le domaine des libérations conditionnelles. Le Manitoba et le gouvernement fédéral se sont partagé les coûts du programme Carrières nouvelles qui permettait aux Amérindiens détenus dans une institution correctionnelle ou une maison de transition d'apprendre un métier.

Les Amérindiens ont également accès à un programme d'agents de liaison avec la Cour qui est financé par le ministère de la Justice et qui leur permet d'avoir recours à un agent de liaison avec la Cour à chacune des étapes du processus judiciaire. Ces agents de liaison permettent aux contrevenants de rester en contact avec les organisations, réserves et autres communautés autochtones. Il faudrait toutefois que la communauté autochtone s'implique davantage, car cela permettrait aux services de probation, grâce à un personnel accru, bien sûr, d'assurer un contrôle adéquat des contrevenants autochtones tout en les laissant au sein de leur propre communauté au lieu de les emprisonner. En dépit des efforts qui sont déployés, le nombre d'Amérindiens sous surveillance judiciaire demeure anormalement élevé comparativement au reste de la population. Comme c'est la pauvreté qui est à l'origine de cette situation, il est urgent d'instaurer des programmes de développement social et économique dans les centres urbains.

Les disparités de plus en plus prononcées entre Amérindiens et non-Amérindiens en ce qui a trait au taux de mortalité néonatale, à l'espérance de vie et à l'état de santé, sont étroitement liées au mode de vie. La santé des Amérindiens ne s'améliorera que lorsqu'on aura apporté des changements radicaux à leur environnement. Les gouvernements devraient remédier aux causes de l'état de santé déplorable des Amérindiens plutôt que de fournir des traitements curatifs dont les coûts sont proportionnellement beaucoup plus élevés pour les autochtones que pour le reste de la population. Le gouvernement fédéral devrait assumer la responsabilité de l'état de santé des Indiens de droit, qu'ils vivent ou non dans une réserve. À l'heure actuelle, en raison de sa politique « d'universalité », le gouvernement fédéral a abandonné aux gouvernements provinciaux ses responsabilités à l'égard des Amérindiens installés dans les centres urbains.

Les gouvernements se sont attaqués au syndrome de l'assisté social de façon peu systématique, et, ils ne se sont guère souciés de faire disparaître ces mêmes causes qui ont toujours empêché les autochtones de tirer parti des avantages inhérents à la structure de la société canadienne. Dans le domaine du bien-être social, les solutions à court terme suscitent des fardeaux financiers démesurés pour la société. Elles nous privent de la contribution sociale et économique des Amérindiens et augmentent les risques de tensions raciales.

Les faits semblent indiquer que les programmes de sécurité sociale, conçus ou non pour les réserves, visent à maintenir le *statu quo*. Comme on le mentionne dans *The Real Poverty Report*, les problèmes de l'Amérindien canadien ne seront pas réglés par une redistribution des juridictions et des programmes de sécurité sociale plus nombreux ne seraient guère utiles. Ce qu'il faudrait, c'est évidemment une volonté ferme d'améliorer la qualité de vie des autochtones et ce, selon leurs propres critères.

À Winnipeg, on a mis sur pied de nombreuses organisations sociales et politiques autochtones dans le but d'aider les nouveaux arrivants à faire face aux situations qui sortent du cadre actuel de l'aide gouvernementale. Le plus vieux regroupement de citadins autochtones fut établi en 1968. Il s'agit du Centre d'accueil amérindien (*Indian and Métis Friendship Centre*). Ce centre fut d'abord subventionné à parts égales par les gouvernements provincial et fédéral mais, en 1972, le gouvernement fédéral commença à assumer la presque totalité du financement de tous les « centres d'accueil », à travers le Canada. Le gouvernement fédéral croyait que les Centres d'accueil offriraient des services de consultation et d'orientation aux Amérindiens vivant en milieu urbain et que d'autres sources prodigueraient d'autres types de services. Les « centres d'accueil » affirment que cela ne s'est pas produit ainsi et qu'ils en ont trop fait. Ils soutiennent que leur financement devrait être établi en fonction de leurs besoins respectifs et de leur capacité de réaliser des projets. Ils ajoutent que le gouvernement fédéral devrait les aider à élaborer des programmes susceptibles d'améliorer le taux d'emploi chez les Amérindiens installés à Winnipeg. La Fraternité des Indiens du Manitoba (appelée aujourd'hui *Four Nations Confederacy*) affirme que le gouvernement fédéral est responsable des Amérindiens, quel que soit leur lieu de résidence ou le palier de gouvernement qui leur fournit des services. Elle soutient également que les Amérindiens devraient avoir accès aux mêmes services que tous les autres citoyens du Manitoba. La Fédération des Métis du Manitoba (*Manitoba Métis Federation*) encourage les Métis à accepter leur identité et leur donne accès à des programmes de formation sociale, économique et académique. Cette fédération dirige aussi un bureau d'emploi qui aide les Amérindiens à accéder au marché du travail et assure la liaison avec leurs employeurs éventuels. Le Regroupement des femmes métisses du Manitoba (*Métis Women's Association of Manitoba*) aide les Métisses et les Indiennes de fait, à s'adapter à la vie en milieu urbain. Il existe à Winnipeg plusieurs agences sociales chargées de répondre aux besoins à court terme des Amérindiens et de leur fournir des biens essentiels comme de la nourriture, des vêtements et un logement. Elles se préoccupent également de la réhabilitation des alcooliques et des drogués.

En somme, on fait beaucoup pour répondre aux besoins des Amérindiens dans la ville de Winnipeg. Malheureusement, ces efforts sont tous temporaires. Il est essentiel que les trois paliers de gouvernement et les Amérindiens eux-mêmes coordonnent leurs interventions afin de s'assurer que les programmes soient pertinents et le financement adéquat. Le gouvernement provincial a déclaré sans ambages ne pas pouvoir supporter le fardeau financier que lui impose le nombre toujours croissant d'autochtones qui choisissent de s'établir dans les centres urbains et il est d'accord avec les Amérindiens qui affirment que le gouvernement fédéral devrait défrayer le coût des services qui leur sont offerts, qu'ils vivent ou non dans une réserve. À l'avenir, les projets conçus par les divers paliers de gouvernement devraient reconnaître les besoins des Métis autant que ceux des Amérindiens.

La conclusion qui s'impose est que le gouvernement fédéral a appliqué subrepticement certaines des recommandations de son Livre blanc de 1969 sur la politique indienne, qui avait officiellement été abandonné. En fait, le fédéral a rejeté toutes ses responsabilités dans les domaines de la santé, de l'éducation et du bien-être des Amérindiens sur le gouvernement du Manitoba, les gouvernements municipaux de cette province ou les commissions scolaires locales. Il encourage d'ailleurs les provinces à élaborer des programmes incluant spécifiquement les Indiens de droit dans leur clientèle-cible. Les Amérindiens vivant en milieu urbain y perdent puisqu'ils sont pris au milieu d'interminables querelles de juridictions entre deux paliers de gouvernement. Les provinces ne peuvent être tenues responsables du sort des Amérindiens établis en milieu urbain car elles n'ont ni l'autorité constitutionnelle, ni les ressources financières nécessaires. Si cette tendance à l'urbanisation des autochtones se maintient, les coûts sociaux augmenteront d'une génération à l'autre. Les interminables discussions et querelles des juridictions qui ont marqué la dernière décennie ont permis à la situation des Amérindiens du Manitoba de continuer à se détériorer. Si l'on devait connaître encore dix années d'inefficacité, les résultats seraient extrêmement désastreux sur le plan humain.

Les politiques et programmes gouvernementaux destinés aux citoyens d'origine amérindienne en Saskatchewan

Le professeur Anderson a choisi la ville de Regina pour étudier l'interaction des trois paliers de gouvernement car c'est le centre urbain dans lequel on retrouve le plus fort pourcentage d'Amérindiens en Saskatchewan et également parce que des tensions sociales très sérieuses agitent cette ville.

Dès 1969, le gouvernement de la Saskatchewan manifestait son inquiétude face au sort de l'Amérindien vivant en milieu urbain en fondant un ministère des Amérindiens et des Métis, dont le mandat était de donner aux autochtones la chance de se trouver de l'emploi, d'acquérir une formation professionnelle ou de développer leur sens des affaires. À la même époque, le ministère de l'Éducation réévaluait ses programmes destinés aux Amérindiens et il reconnaissait qu'il était devenu nécessaire de les modifier. Le gouvernement Thatcher croyait pouvoir enrayer la discrimination dont les Amérindiens étaient victimes en créant des programmes d'action positive. Cet intérêt pour les questions amérindiennes fut de courte durée puisque le Nouveau parti démocratique abolissait le ministère du Développement amérindien en 1971 et que le ministère de l'Éducation ne se repencha sur les problèmes amérindiens qu'en 1979. Les questions relatives aux Amérindiens vivant en milieu urbain ne ressurgirent qu'en 1978, lorsque le gouvernement Blakeney constitua un Secrétariat de planification sociale (SPS), à une époque où le public s'inquiétait des tensions raciales. En 1980–1981, le Cabinet adopta, à l'intention des Amérindiens, l'*Urban Native Package*, un ensemble de mesures auquel il consacrait un budget de 6 000 000 $. Ce programme fut critiqué tant par la Fédération des Indiens de la Saskatchewan que par le Regroupement des femmes autochtones de Regina parce que les Amérindiens n'avaient pas été suffisamment consultés au moment de son élaboration et parce que les fonds qui lui étaient alloués étaient tout à fait inadéquats pour faire face à l'énormité des problèmes amérindiens.

Le gouvernement de la Saskatchewan, tout comme celui du Manitoba, prétend que le gouvernement fédéral devrait fournir des services adéquats aux Amérindiens de droit, quel que soit leur lieu de résidence et que, si la province se voit dans l'obligation de fournir ces services, elle devrait être remboursée par le gouvernement fédéral. La Fédération des Indiens de la Saskatchewan partage aussi cette opinion. Les faits diffèrent toutefois et, après avoir vécu en milieu urbain pendant un an, les Indiens tombent sous la responsabilité du gouvernement provincial.

En Saskatchewan, le taux de chômage des Amérindiens vivant dans les villes varie entre 40 et 60 pour cent. Lorsque les autochtones réussissent à se trouver du travail, on leur offre un emploi mal rémunéré, souvent sur une base saisonnière ou temporaire. Encore là, trop peu d'Amérindiens ont l'instruction et la formation nécessaires pour remplir les postes disponibles et, par ailleurs, ils sont souvent confrontés à des critères d'éligibilité discriminatoires. Ces barrières se traduisent parfois par des exigences académiques exagérées ou encore résultent de la mise en oeuvre de « bureaux de placement » internes. Des programmes d'action positive ont été mis sur pied afin d'obliger les employeurs à éliminer ces pratiques discriminatoires. On doit également s'efforcer de créer des emplois. Malheureusement, les programmes ainsi créés n'ont souvent été que des interventions à court terme visant à faciliter l'adaptation des Amérindiens au travail et à faire renaître la confiance.

En somme, si l'on veut améliorer la situation économique relative des Amérindiens, il faut se préoccuper à la fois de « l'offre » et de la « demande ».

Bien que la formation en institution soit du ressort provincial, la Commission canadienne de l'emploi et de l'immigration a défrayé les droits d'inscription de certains Amérindiens pour leur permettre de fréquenter les collèges techniques et communautaires de la Saskatchewan. La Commission a également négocié des ententes avec quelques employeurs pour qu'ils permettent à certains Amérindiens d'acquérir une formation en cours d'emploi. La Commission devrait cependant augmenter les montants qu'elle consacre aux programmes de formation industrielle car les Amérindiens ne représentent que 2,3 pour cent des inscrits aux programmes d'apprentissage.

La politique d'action positive de la Saskatchewan remonte à 1969, lorsque le gouvernement libéral se fixa pour objectif de recruter 7 pour cent des employés du secteur public parmi la population amérindienne de la province. Bien que ce « programme surnuméraire » n'ait pas atteint pleinement son objectif, certains Amérindiens en ont bénéficié. En 1980, le gouvernement Blakeney lançait un programme d'emploi dans la Fonction publique pour les Amérindiens. Ce programme était placé sous l'égide de la Fonction publique de la Saskatchewan et du programme d'emploi et de formation à l'intention des Amérindiens administré par le ministère de l'Éducation des adultes. L'objet de ces programmes était d'augmenter le nombre d'Amérindiens à l'emploi des sociétés de la Couronne et du secteur privé. On ignore toutefois l'impact qu'ils ont eu.

Le modèle de développement économique permet aux Amérindiens de préserver leur culture et de contrôler leurs entreprises tout en s'intégrant, jusqu'à un certain point, à la masse. Il est toutefois difficile d'atteindre ces résultats sans avoir de capitaux adéquats. Les Indiens de droit peuvent plus facilement se constituer un certain capital lorsqu'ils tirent un loyer ou des redevances de leurs terres ou encore, s'ils acceptent de monnayer une partie de ces biens. Les Métis ne jouissent cependant pas du même avantage et ils ont donc tout intérêt à régler leurs revendications territoriales. L'auteur considère l'attitude positive du gouvernement de la Saskatchewan face à des programmes d'emploi élargis destinés aux Amérindiens comme un signe de sa reconnaissance du besoin d'auto-détermination des nations autochtones. Toutefois, malgré les gestes qu'il a posés jusqu'ici, le gouvernement accuse un certain retard par rapport au secteur privé.

Moins de 10 pour cent des enfants amérindiens de la Saskatchewan terminent leurs études secondaires et 60 pour cent des enfants de descendance indienne accusent un retard académique de 1,7 à 2,3 années par rapport aux autres enfants de la province. Quelques facteurs expliquent ces écarts : le trop petit nombre d'enseignants amérindiens, le manque de communications entre les écoles et les parents, une mauvaise nutrition qui entraîne des difficultés d'apprentissage, une certaine désorientation résultant d'une mobilité familiale excessive et, dans une certaine mesure, le manque de compréhension des enseignants non-Amérindiens qui renforce chez l'enfant l'impression que l'école fait partie d'un monde où ils sont étrangers.

Il ne suffit malheureusement pas de cerner un problème pour le solutionner adéquatement car la susceptibilité des individus vient souvent compliquer la situation. Par exemple, l'intervention gouvernementale peut être perçue par les Amérindiens comme une critique de leur mode d'éducation des enfants. Les montants requis pour surmonter ces problèmes sont très considérables et les non-Amérindiens peuvent les juger injustifiés. Il est généralement plus profitable de changer les choses graduellement plutôt que de façon radicale. On pourrait, par exemple, organiser des séminaires sur la culture amérindienne à l'intention des enseignants non-Amérindiens, adjoindre à ces mêmes enseignants des assistants Amérindiens, élaborer des programmes pour les pré-maternelles amérindiennes et former des agents de liaison communautaires amérindiens.

Convaincu que ces problèmes doivent être réglés au niveau élémentaire, le SPS a rédigé un document intitulé « Programme des écoles communautaires » qui proposait l'adoption d'une série de programmes adaptés aux besoins particuliers de chaque école. Deux des composantes d'un programme de ce genre pourraient être l'embauche d'assistants-professeurs et de coordonnateurs amérindiens pour les écoles publiques. Le SPS a aussi proposé la création du « Programme de formation des enseignants autochtones vivant dans les centres urbains de la Saskatchewan » (SUNTEP) qui est administré par le *Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research*. La mise en oeuvre de ce programme démontrait clairement la volonté du gouvernement provincial de donner aux Amérindiens le contrôle de leur éducation.

Bien que la politique officielle du gouvernement provincial décourage la création d'écoles amérindiennes indépendantes, ces institutions sont peut-être le seul moyen susceptible de permettre aux enfants amérindiens de rattraper le reste de la société et de développer le sentiment de leur valeur personnelle. La communauté amérindienne adoptera peut-être cette mesure si Programme d'écoles communautaires proposé dans l'*Urban Native Package* ne réussit pas à provoquer les changements qui s'imposent dans des délais raisonnables.

Deux institutions post-secondaires, créées pour répondre aux besoins des Amérindiens établis en milieu urbain, s'avèrent fort efficaces pour modifier la perception que les non-Amérindiens ont des autochtones. Il s'agit du *Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College* et du *Saskatchewan Indian Federated College*. Cette dernière institution est établie sur le campus de l'université de Regina, mais toutes deux sont gérées par des personnes de descendance indienne.

Les relations entre les autochtones et le système judiciaire peuvent découler de leurs rapports avec la police, les tribunaux ou les institutions correctionnelles. Comme les rapports entre la police de Regina et la communauté amérindienne étaient assez tendus, le Regroupement pour les relations amérindiennes de Regina s'est efforcé de promouvoir une meilleure compréhension interculturelle en demandant que les officiers de police assistent à des séminaires spéciaux portant sur la culture amérindienne. Les policiers en sont ainsi venus à connaître certains représentants des autochtones et à être mieux informés sur la communauté amérindienne. Ces séminaires permettaient également aux Amérindiens de mieux connaître les problèmes auxquels les policiers de Regina sont confrontés. On a constaté certaines améliorations, mais un programme d'action positive ayant pour objet de recruter des policiers amérindiens permettrait de réduire les tensions encore davantage. On a élaboré certains programmes spéciaux pour pallier les difficultés que les Amérindiens éprouvent lorsqu'ils sont confrontés au système judiciaire provincial. Le programme d'agents de liaison amérindiens avec la Cour, qui est administré par l'Association des centres d'accueil de la Saskatchewan, permet à tout Amérindien impliqué dans le processus judiciaire de faire appel à plus d'une trentaine de personnes-ressources de descendance amérindienne. De plus, le *Regina Native Counsel Project* offre une aide juridique aux organisations autochtones. Comme tous les autres citoyens de la Saskatchewan, les Amérindiens ont accès aux bureaux d'aide juridique. La seule difficulté vient du fait que très peu d'avocats autochtones figurent sur les listes. Les statistiques relatives au pourcentage de détenus mâles amérindiens, par rapport à celui des non-amérindiens, sont inquiétantes. La proportion est de 23,3 pour 1,0 chez les Amérindiens et de 71,5 pour 1,0 chez les Métis et les Amérindiens non-inscrits. Chez les femmes, ces proportions sont de 88 pour 1 et de 19 pour 1. Comme la plupart de ces délits consistent en des refus de payer des amendes, on a mis sur pied le programme *Fine Options* qui permet à un délinquant d'effectuer certains travaux communautaires plutôt que de purger une peine d'emprisonnement. La pauvreté et la discrimination sont les causes majeures du taux élevé de criminalité chez les Amérindiens. Pour solutionner ce problème de façon radicale, il faut améliorer les conditions socio-économiques des Amérindiens au lieu de se pencher uniquement sur le système correctionnel.

Les dirigeants amérindiens et le public non-amérindien sont inquiets des situations engendrées par les programmes de bien-être. Plusieurs solutions ont été proposées, telles la création d'emplois, la formation d'institutions sociales, culturelles et politiques solides et la constitution d'assises économiques indépendantes. Tous reconnaissent toutefois que les individus doivent survivre pendant cette période de transition.

Le gouvernement fédéral accepte d'assurer la sécurité sociale des Amérindiens qui vivent dans les réserves. Il consent à prodiguer cette même aide aux Amérindiens qui quittent les réserves, pendant l'année qui suit leur départ. Par la suite, ceux-ci doivent avoir recours à l'aide provinciale. Les points de vue du gouvernement provincial et de la Fédération des Indiens de la Saskatchewan sont identiques : tous les services accordés aux Amérindiens de droit, vivant dans une réserve ou non, devraient être défrayés par le gouvernement fédéral. Le gouvernement provincial a lancé un programme de revenu familial pour accorder un supplément de revenu aux travailleurs qui vivent malgré tout sous le seuil de la pauvreté mais, hélas, très peu d'Amérindiens connaissent l'existence de ce programme.

Les Amérindiens sont perturbés par d'autres problèmes sociaux sérieux. Par exemple, les enfants amérindiens sont 7,9 fois plus susceptibles que les non-Amérindiens d'être placés en tutelle dans le cadre d'un programme d'aide à l'enfance. Malgré les efforts du ministère des Services sociaux, qui tente de plus en plus de les intégrer à une famille amérindienne, plusieurs enfants autochtones sont placés dans des foyers non-amérindiens. Peu de mères amérindiennes peuvent s'offrir des services de garderie afin de travailler à plein temps; par conséquent, il leur est impossible d'améliorer leurs conditions de vie.

Les statistiques relatives à l'état de santé des Amérindiens ne sont guère plus encourageantes que celles qui traitent des autres facteurs sociaux. Les Amérindiens sont deux fois plus hospitalisés que les non-Amérindiens; ils ont des taux de suicide, de mortalité néonatale, de maladies respiratoires et de morts violentes plus élevés. L'état de santé des Amérindiens ne s'améliorera pas tant que l'on ne restructurera pas leur situation socio-économique et que les conflits de juridictions actuels entre les deux paliers supérieurs de gouvernement ne seront pas résolus. Les Amérindiens croient présentement que les services de santé devraient être fournis gratuitement à tous les Indiens de droit, quel que soit leur lieu de résidence. Le ministre national de la Santé et du bien-être social déclarait en 1979 : « en ce qui concerne les Amérindiens de droit qui vivent en permanence à l'extérieur des réserves, la politique réitère qu'ils devraient recevoir leurs services de santé de la province ou de la municipalité où ils résident mais que lorsque ces services leur sont refusés, le gouvernement fédéral tentera de les leur fournir ».

Selon la province de la Saskatchewan, le gouvernement fédéral devrait assumer les coûts des services de santé accordés à tous les Indiens de droit et la province qui se trouve dans l'obligation de fournir ces services devrait être remboursée par le gouvernement fédéral. La Fédération des Indiens de la Saskatchewan s'oppose toutefois à l'implication provinciale, soutenant que les Amérindiens préfèreraient obtenir du fédéral les fonds qui leur permettraient d'administrer leurs propres services de santé. Cette question est d'ordre politique et non technique.

Le nombre de logements que les Amérindiens, vivant en milieu urbain, ont les moyens de s'offrir est limité et ces habitations sont en piètre état. Cette situation entraîne une mobilité excessive et une suroccupation. À cause des préjugés voulant que les Amérindiens négligent leurs habitations, ceux d'entre eux qui pourraient s'offrir des logements convenables font face à de la discrimination de la part des propriétaires. De plus, parce que plusieurs Amérindiens n'ont pas l'argent nécessaire pour utiliser les moyens de transport en commun, ils demeurent dans les centres-villes, dans des ghettos où règne une pauvreté déplorable. Bien que la politique du gouvernement de la Saskatchewan en matière d'habitation pour les Amérindiens semble avoir été élaborée selon un modèle intégrateur, cette approche augmente encore davantage leur sentiment d'isolement. Par contre, il semble que pour acquérir un certain poids sur le plan politique, développer un sens communautaire et avoir accès à un éventail de services, les Amérindiens doivent se regrouper jusqu'à un certain point. La Société canadienne d'Hypothèques et de Logement et la *Saskatchewan Housing Corporation* ont assoupli leurs politiques et commencent à reconnaître le bien-fondé d'un tel regroupement. Jusqu'en 1979, la Société de logement de la Saskatchewan n'allouait qu'un faible pourcentage de son budget à la création d'habitations pour les Amérindiens, mais en 1980-1981, elle décida d'accorder des fonds beaucoup plus considérables aux personnes à faible revenu. Il y a actuellement une tendance à créer des projets d'habitations destinées aux Amérindiens. On a, par exemple, l'*Acquisition of Existing Housing for People of Native Ancestry Program*, le *Native Pilot Project* et l'*Infil Project*. Cependant, au moment où nous écrivions ces lignes, très peu d'Amérindiens avaient bénéficié de ces projets. C'est peut-être dans le domaine du logement que les Amérindiens rencontrent le plus haut degré de discrimination.

Depuis le début des années soixante, certaines des principales organisations amérindiennes ont travaillé pour donner aux autochtones la chance d'accéder au pouvoir politique. Même si ces organismes sont financés par les gouvernements fédéral et provincial, la Federation des

Indiens de la Saskatchewan et le Regroupement des Métis et d'Amérindiens non-inscrits luttent pour obtenir l'auto-détermination des Amérindiens et pour régler avec ces gouvernements les problèmes soulevés par les « revendications territoriales, les droits des aborigènes, le partage des impôts et des redevances, ce qui leur permettrait enfin d'atteindre une véritable indépendance économique ».

Le Centre d'accueil de Regina et le Regroupement des femmes autochtones de Regina s'efforcent de combler les besoins quotidiens des Amérindiens qui vivent en milieu urbain. Le Regroupement pour les Relations amérindiennes de Regina, subventionné par le ministère du Solliciteur général, le Secrétariat d'État, la Fondation Donner du Canada et la ville de Regina, essaient de changer la perception que les Amérindiens et les non-Amérindiens ont les uns des autres et particulièrement celle des policiers de Regina. Malgré l'existence de ces organisations, les Amérindiens sont désavantagés dans un domaine important : ils ne sont représentés à aucun des trois paliers de gouvernement, ni à la Commission scolaire de Regina ou à la Commission scolaire catholique. L'adoption d'un nouveau système de sections électorales au niveau de la municipalité et de la commission scolaire permettra peut-être aux Amérindiens, grâce à la concentration des votes, de se faire entendre sur la scène publique.

Les politiques gouvernementales mises en place, surtout depuis 1977, ignorent dans une large mesure les facteurs fondamentaux de l'insatisfaction des Amérindiens, comme les revendications territoriales, les droits aborigènes, le contrôle de l'éducation des Amérindiens et le partage des taxes et des redevances. Les chefs de file autochtones sont convaincus qu'ils ne pourront atteindre un niveau acceptable d'auto-détermination au sein de la structure politique canadienne actuelle. Ils envisagent donc de plus en plus sérieusement la possibilité d'établir des institutions amérindiennes parallèles afin de contrôler leur propre destinée. La lutte de pouvoir qui sous-tend tous ces problèmes et ces tensions sera de plus en plus difficile à ignorer au fur et à mesure que les Amérindiens s'urbaniseront.

Politiques et programmes gouvernementaux relatifs aux personnes de descendance indienne en Alberta

Le docteur Frideres déclare que, depuis la Proclamation royale de 1963, la politique fédérale relative aux Amérindiens a été assimilatrice, même si elle s'est récemment teintée d'un certain multiculturalisme. Bien que le gouvernement albertain prône l'individualisme, il se fait, dans une certaine mesure, l'émule du gouvernement fédéral et de son idéologie assimilatrice. On s'attend aujourd'hui à ce que les Amérindiens considèrent les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux comme des partenaires dans toutes les questions qui les concernent. Le gouvernement de l'Alberta a mis sur pied un ministère des Affaires amérindiennes dont le mandat est de coordonner les programmes offerts aux Amérindiens par les autres ministères. Ce ministère fonctionne cependant comme un simple secrétariat; il ne formule aucune politique et n'offre aucun programme particulier. Les Métis ne relèvent pas du gouvernement fédéral mais, depuis 1938, ils ont des relations privilégiées avec le gouvernement albertain qui leur concédait alors huit « colonies ». Depuis le début des années cinquante, les Métis s'efforcent de convaincre le gouvernement albertain qu'ils devraient jouir des redevances provenant de l'exploitation des réserves de pétrole et de gaz qu'on a trouvées sur leurs terres. Depuis 1980, les Métis de l'Alberta relèvent du ministère des Affaires municipales.

Cette analyse portant sur les programmes privés ainsi que sur les programmes gouvernementaux, créés à l'intention des Amérindiens car l'Alberta est unique dans la mesure où plusieurs programmes destinés aux Amérindiens sont administrés par des organisations non-gouvernementales subventionnées par le gouvernement provincial. L'urbanisation des Amérindiens est un phénomène qui s'accentue depuis le milieu des années soixante, mais ce n'est qu'en 1975 que les gouvernements ont commencé à tenir compte de cette réalité dans l'élaboration de leurs programmes.

Comme le gouvernement albertain sentait que le gouvernement fédéral voulait abandonner aux provinces le fardeau financier créé par les services offerts aux Amérindiens, il publia en 1969 un Livre blanc dans lequel on retrouve les recommandations suivantes : tout citoyen albertain, quelle que soit son origine ethnique ou raciale, doit avoir accès à tous les services disponibles en Alberta; le gouvernement fédéral doit s'assurer que les Amérindiens sous sa juridiction ainsi que les Métis et les Amérindiens sous juridiction provinciale ont accès aux mêmes programmes et services qui sont offerts aux autres citoyens albertains; et que l'autodétermination des Amérindiens soit encouragée. Au cours de la même année, le gouvernement fédéral manifestait, dans son Livre blanc, l'intention de couper tous les liens l'unissant aux Amérindiens en proposant que chaque gouvernement provincial assume la responsabilité des Amérindiens vivant sur son territoire. Bien que l'Alberta n'accorde aucun statut particulier aux Amérindiens, elle ne s'opposerait pas à ce que le gouvernement fédéral offre des programmes spéciaux aux Indiens de droit.

En 1978, l'Alberta élaborait une politique selon laquelle elle acceptait d'assumer tous les frais découlant des services offerts aux Indiens de droit résidant à l'extérieur des réserves, à condition que le gouvernement fédéral accepte d'offrir aux Amérindiens habitant dans les réserves des services répondant aux normes provinciales et de rembourser à la province la totalité des coûts générés par les services accordés aux Amérindiens. En 1981, cette politique n'était toujours pas en vigueur car les Amérindiens considéraient que ses implications n'étaient pas claires.

En 1981, le gouvernement de l'Alberta annonça la création d'un projet d'aide aux entreprises amérindiennes qui semblaient appelées à connaître un certain succès et il encourageait la création d'un comité de l'industrie privée dont le mandat serait de réunir les fonds nécessaires au lancement de nouvelles entreprises. Le gouvernement fédéral mit en place le Fonds de développement économique amérindien, mais les Amérindiens n'en profitèrent pas beaucoup parce qu'ils devaient avoir un certain montant à investir pour obtenir un prêt et aussi parce que ces prêts devaient être garantis par des biens réalisables.

En ce qui concerne les politiques d'emploi, l'Alberta soutient que tous les citoyens sont en droit d'espérer obtenir des revenus aussi élevés que possible et qu'ils sont tenus de faire leur part pour la société en travaillant de façon productive. Mais en ce qui a trait aux questions de main-d'oeuvre et de développement économique, il considère que les Amérindiens qui vivent dans les réserves n'ont pas les mêmes droits que les autres Albertains, car ils ne paient pas d'impôts. Le gouvernement albertain croit toutefois qu'il est indispensable d'instaurer des programmes de formation et d'éducation et de développer une base économique au sein même de la structure économique provinciale si l'on veut venir à bout de la pauvreté dans laquelle les Amérindiens sont plongés. Bien que la politique du gouvernement albertain reconnaisse les différences culturelles entre Amérindiens et non-Amérindiens, les programmes amérindiens sont évalués au mérite tandis que des services spéciaux sont mis en place pour répondre à des besoins précis.

Le gouvernement albertain a tenté d'augmenter le nombre d'emplois créés en faisant appel à sa propre fonction publique, en lançant des projets de grande envergure et en ayant recours à ses pouvoirs de réglementation. Cela allait toutefois à l'encontre de sa politique globale qui implique que la création d'emplois est du ressort du secteur privé. Bien que 15 pour cent des programmes de création d'emplois émanent du gouvernement provincial, très peu d'entre eux s'appliquent aux Amérindiens vivant en milieu urbain. Le gouvernement fédéral a cependant mis sur pied quelques programmes axés sur la création d'emplois à l'intention des Amérindiens dont le Programme de prêts directs pour le développement économique des Indiens, le Programme de garanties au développement économique des Indiens, la Fondation de capitalisation des Indiens et la Société pour le développement agricole des Indiens. Il est néanmoins clair que le gouvernement fédéral et le gouvernement albertain préfèreraient que l'entreprise privée assume la responsabilité de créer des emplois pour les Amérindiens.

Comme le gouvernement albertain attache beaucoup d'importance à la nécessité de former les Amérindiens pour occuper les emplois disponibles sur le marché de travail, il a mis sur pied deux programmes de pré-emploi : les Centres de carrières et les Services-conseils pour l'emploi et la mobilité. Ce dernier est subventionné à la fois par l'Alberta et le Canada en vertu de l'Entente Alberta-Nord. L'objectif de ce programme est d'aider les familles amérindiennes à s'installer dans des centres urbains où elles ont la chance de trouver de l'emploi. Le gouvernement subventionne partiellement un troisième programme de pré-emploi, le Programme de formation à l'emploi des (femmes) autochtones dont le but est de motiver les femmes amérindiennes établies en milieu urbain à se chercher du travail.

En Alberta, moins de 10 pour cent des Amérindiens fréquentent les institutions académiques de niveau post-secondaire (c'est-à-dire, les universités, les collèges et les écoles techniques). Les Amérindiens qui ont besoin d'acquérir une formation pratique de base ou de se recycler peuvent s'inscrire dans les collèges de formation technique de l'Alberta. Ceux qui ont besoin de rattrapage académique et de formation pré-emploi s'inscrivent dans un collège communautaire de formation technique. Ces deux types d'institutions ont été mises sur pied pour répondre aux besoins des étudiants adultes qui n'ont pas de métier ou la formation nécessaire pour s'intégrer au marché du travail. Au Canada, seul le gouvernement albertain a accordé un supplément de revenu aux stagiaires en période de formation.

En 1967, le ministère de la Main-d'oeuvre du Canada a créé son programme Extension autochtone, un service de placement à l'intention des Amérindiens où ils peuvent s'exprimer dans leurs propres dialectes. Cette agence facilite l'accès des Amérindiens au marché du travail, les renseigne sur les habiletés requises pour devenir un employé productif et administre à leur intention un fonds dans lequel ils versent leurs cotisations syndicales. L'Extension autochtone a établi des liens avec les entreprises, les agences gouvernementales et les syndicats susceptibles d'embaucher des autochtones.

Jusqu'en 1960, les Amérindiens faisaient leurs études primaires et secondaires dans des internats, subventionnés par le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord et administrés par des communautés religieuses. Influencés par une décision de la Cour suprême des États-Unis statuant que les écoles séparées selon le critère de la race sont essentiellement inférieures aux écoles intégrées, les gestionnaires de l'éducation tant fédéraux que provinciaux affirmèrent que créer des écoles séparées pour les enfants amérindiens les empêcherait de s'intégrer à la société canadienne et ces internats furent donc abandonnés. Le gouvernement de l'Alberta accepta la responsabilité d'aménager des écoles et de former des enseignants pour les enfants amérindiens à condition que le gouvernement fédéral le dédommage pour tous les services ainsi accordés.

Les événements socio-politiques qui marquèrent la fin des années soixante et le début des années soixante-dix obligèrent les Amérindiens à reconnaître publiquement que la responsabilité de leur éducation passait du gouvernement fédéral au gouvernement provincial sans qu'ils aient été consultés. Les Amérindiens considèrent ces mesures comme une intégration forcée et ils réagirent par l'intermédiaire de la Fraternité nationale des Indiens qui publia en 1972 un document intitulé *Indian Control of Indian Education*. En 1973, les administrateurs du Programme des Affaires indiennes et inuit acceptèrent ce point de vue. La réaction de l'Association des Indiens de l'Alberta au Livre blanc fut de réclamer la création de centres d'éducation culturelle dont l'objectif serait d'offrir aux Amérindiens une forme d'éducation différente, leur permettant de renforcer le sentiment de leur propre valeur.

L'éducation des Amérindiens en Alberta est encore en fluctuation, chaque intervenant étant incapable de convaincre les autres de la valeur de son orientation. À partir de 1971, les centres d'éducation culturelle furent subventionnés par le Secrétariat d'État pour être ultérieurement placés sous l'égide du Programme des affaires indiennes et inuit de l'Alberta qui a accordé une grande importance à la culture autochtone et distribué ses faibles ressources financières aux tribus amérindiennes. Cela explique pourquoi le plan original de l'Association des Indiens de l'Alberta ne fut jamais mis en application. L'Alberta a créé l'*Equal Opportunities Fund*, qui offre des services de rattrapage à tous les étudiants inscrits dans les écoles élémentaires et secondaires de la province. Ce fonds permet également aux étudiants dont les échecs scolaires résultent des conditions socio-économiques défavorables qui règnent dans leurs familles de suivre un programme compensatoire. L'Alberta a établi des programmes pré-scolaires, scolaires et post-scolaires afin d'aider les enfants autochtones à développer une plus grande estime personnelle.

Les programmes culturels insistent sur le fait qu'un Amérindien sûr de son identité et de sa valeur personnelle aura moins de difficulté à s'adapter à la société en général. Les étudiants amérindiens inscrits aux Universités de l'Alberta, de Calgary et de Lethbridge peuvent faire appel aux services de tuteurs et de conseillers et on met des bureaux à leur disposition. L'Université de Lethbridge offre d'ailleurs un programme d'études amérindiennes accessible à tous les étudiants. Les programmes de formation des enseignants, comme ceux qui sont offerts à Blue Quills sont basés sur le principe que les enseignants amérindiens servent de modèles pour les étudiants amérindiens. Les enseignants autochtones comprennent la culture et le mode de vie de leurs élèves et ils peuvent donc leur prodiguer un enseignement plus efficace.

Les problèmes qui entourent la question de l'éducation des Amérindiens ne sont pas encore tous réglés. Par exemple, l'enseignement aux Amérindiens devrait-il se faire dans un environnement exclusivement amérindien, ou, devrait-on au contraire intégrer les enfants autochtones au système public dès la première année? La politique relative à l'éducation des Amérindiens est élaborée à divers paliers du ministère de l'Éducation de l'Alberta, mais les enseignants ne la perçoivent pas et ne l'interprètent pas tous de façon identique. L'éducation des Amérindiens n'est pas une priorité pour tous les officiers du ministère de l'Éducation. La communication et la coordination des programmes en vigueur sont limitées.

Les policiers albertains tolèrent plus facilement la délinquance chez les Amérindiens que chez les non-Amérindiens. Cependant, le nombre de détenus amérindiens a augmenté considérablement et ils sont plus nombreux que les détenus non-Amérindiens. Les politiques provinciale et fédérale sont basées soit sur le principe de la réhabilitation, soit sur celui de la réforme personnelle. Dans le premier cas, c'est la société qui est responsable de la réhabilitation du détenu alors que dans le second cas, il appartient au délinquant de modifier son comportement. Une troisième voie semble plus appropriée pour les délinquants amérindiens; il s'agit des centres correctionnels communautaires qui permettent au coupable de purger sa peine en travaillant pour sa communauté au lieu de faire de la prison.

Au milieu des années soixante-dix, le gouvernement fédéral instaura, sous l'égide de la GRC, le Programme des gendarmes spéciaux (l'Option 3B) afin d'encourager les Amérindiens à s'impliquer dans l'administration de la justice. Le gouvernement provincial subventionne certaines agences privées, telles l'*Assistant Probation Officer Program*, le

Community Service Order et le *Fine Options Program*. Les villes de Calgary et d'Edmonton embauchent des agents de liaison autochtones dont le rôle est de faciliter la communication entre la communauté amérindienne et les forces policières municipales.

En Alberta, les Amérindiens ont accès aux services suivants : le *Native Counselling Services of Alberta* (NCSA), le *Criminal Court Workers*, le *Family Court Workers* et la Société d'aide juridique. Parmi ces quatre agences, seule la NCSA reconnaît officiellement et structurellement qu'il y a des différences culturelles importantes entre les Amérindiens et les non-Amérindiens. Cette agence, très active en Alberta, est reconnue par les Amérindiens. Elle est présentement subventionnée par le gouvernement albertain mais, au départ, elle était financée par le ministère fédéral des Affaires indiennes et du Nord. Son rôle est de familiariser les Amérindiens avec le système judiciaire, de les guider lorsqu'ils ont des démêlés avec la justice, et d'aider la communauté en général à mieux comprendre les Amérindiens.

Les programmes des auxiliaires des cours criminelles et des cours familiales sont placés sous la responsabilité de la NCSA. Le but du premier est d'accorder de l'aide et des services de consultation juridiques aux Amérindiens à toutes les étapes du processus judiciaire. Le second vise à préserver l'union de la famille lorsque l'un de ses membres a des démêlés avec la loi; ce deuxième programme permet également de venir en aide aux délinquants juvéniles. La Société d'aide juridique offre des services juridiques à tout Albertain, accusé d'un délit pénal et à ceux qui sont impliqués dans une cause civile et qui n'ont pas les moyens financiers nécessaires pour avoir recours aux services d'un avocat. La Société d'aide juridique permet aux Amérindiens de faire appel à des avocats et elle travaille conjointement avec la NCSA afin de s'assurer que les employés de la cour soit bien renseignés sur le processus juridique. Environ 30 per cent de la clientèle de la Société d'aide juridique est d'origine amérindienne. La NCSA a également conclu un accord avec le Service canadien des pénitenciers afin d'installer des agents de liaison dans les prisons fédérales et provinciales. Ces agents sont chargés de renseigner les détenus amérindiens. Par ailleurs, la NCSA veut instaurer un programme de fraternité amérindienne dans les prisons albertaines afin d'améliorer l'image que les Amérindiens ont d'eux-mêmes. En 1979, l'Alberta a créé, spécifiquement à l'intention des Amérindiens, un programme d'adjoints aux agents des libérations conditionnelles. Ce programme embauche et forme des Amérindiens qui travaillent ensuite auprès des détenus en liberté conditionnelle dans leurs propres communautés.

On trouve aussi en Alberta des centres communautaires résidentiels-correctionnels. Ce sont des maisons de transition où les détenus reçoivent les services de consultation nécessaires à leur réintégration dans la société. Les particuliers qui bénéficient de ces programmes sont choisis en fonction de leur capacité manifeste d'en tirer profit. Comme les détenus amérindiens sont considérés comme de mauvais risques en raison de leurs antécédents de défavorisés, ils sont exclus des meilleurs programmes.

En Alberta, il est difficile de déterminer quel palier de gouvernement est reponsable des divers services de santé, quels sont les critères de résidence requis et qui est éligible. Dans cette province, le taux de mortalité des Amérindiens est deux fois plus élevé que celui des non-Amérindiens. Bien que le gouvernement fédéral n'admette pas que les services de santé soient un droit aborigène ou émanant d'un traité, les services de santé prodigués aux Amérindiens qui relevèrent d'abord du ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord, sont maintenant administrés par le ministère de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social. Le gouvernement albertain soutient que la responsabilité de fournir des services de santé aux Indiens de droit incombe au fédéral et que la santé des autochtones ne s'améliorera que lorsqu'on fera des efforts pour leur donner de meilleures conditions sociales. Le govervement fédéral préfère que la province fournisse aux Indiens de droit l'ensemble de services intégrés dont bénéficie l'ensemble de la population albertaine, et il insiste maintenant pour que les Amérindiens satisfassent à certains critères quant à leur lieu de résidence pour leur fournir des services de santé. Les Amérindiens se plaignent de ne pas avoir été suffisamment consultés en matière de santé et ils préconisent un programme à long terme incluant des aspects éducationnels, préventifs, curatifs, environmentaux et communautaires.

Le gouvernement albertain prétend être mieux placé pour fournir des services sociaux aux Amérindiens car il est plus sensible à leurs besoins que ne le sont les gouvernements fédéral et municipaux. En fait, en 1976, la ville d'Edmonton allouait 20 pour cent de son budget de sécurité sociale aux Amérindiens qui ne constituaient alors que 5 pour cent de la population. Le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord ne prodigue de l'assistance sociale aux Amérindiens assujettis à des traités que par le biais de son Régime d'assistance publique dont le but est d'encourager et d'aider les Amérindiens à devenir autosuffisants.

Grâce au ministère albertain des Services sociaux et de la santé communautaire, les Amérindiens ont accès à un éventail de services offerts, particulièrement par les services sociaux de prévention et la Division du service social. Par exemple, le premier offre, le Programme d'amélioration de la vie familiale, le Centre des comptences urbaines, la garderie N'Gawee, le Centre d'aide à l'enfance Bissell et le Relais de hommes célibataires de Calgary. La Division des services sociaux offre aussi des appuis financiers et des services de santé aux Amérindiens dans le besoin qui cherchent du travail dans des centres urbains. En vertu du Régime d'assistance publique, le gouvernement fédéral rembourse à l'Alberta jusqu'à 50 pour cent du coûts de ces services. En s'adressant à la

Division de l'aide à l'enfance, les Amérindiens vivant en milieu urbain peuvent bénéficier de Services de consultation, des programmes offerts par la Voix des femmes autochtones de l'Alberta et de services de foyers nourriciers. Lorsque le gouvernement albertain prodigue ces services à des Indiens de droit, il est remboursé par le gouvernement fédéral. En Alberta, on tente présentement, dans la mesure du possible, de placer les enfants amérindiens dans des foyers nourriciers autochtones car on croit que les autochtones sont mieux placés pour s'occuper de ces enfants.

Un deuxième organisme d'importance partage la responsabilité de l'administration des services de santé et du bien-être social en Alberta. Il s'agit de l'*Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission* (AADAC) dont le mandat est de prévenir et traiter l'alcoolisme et les toxicomanies ainsi que de renseigner le public sur ces questions. Les centres de l'AADAC sont implantés au sein des communautés et plusieurs personnes d'origine indienne y travaillent.

Une troisième agence a été mise sur pied pour les Amérindiens. Il s'agit du Secrétariat amérindien qui sert d'intermédiaire entre le gouvernement provincial et les Amérindiens et veille à ce que ces derniers jouissent des mêmes privilèges que les autres Albertains. Les Amérindiens de l'Alberta préfèrent néanmoins traiter directement avec les ministères gouvernementaux et ils considèrent que ce secrétariat est superflu.

Une étude des habitations amérindiennes effectuée en 1977 indiquait que 37 pour cent d'entre elles exigeaient des réparations majeures, que 39 pour cent des logis visités abritaient deux familles ou plus et que ces conditions étaient plus répandues dans les centres urbains. En créant la Société d'habitation « Canative », les gouvernements provincial et fédéral voulaient résoudre quelques-uns de ces problèmes en achetant des logements pour les familles nombreuses amérindiennes ayant de très faibles revenus. Ce programme fonctionna très bien de 1972 à 1977, mais la Société d'hypothèques et de logement lui retira toute subvention en 1976. Aujourd'hui, ces logis sont surtout occupés par des familles monoparentales vivant du bien-être social. Les familles amérindiennes désireuses de s'installer dans des communautés urbaines peuvent faire une demande d'adhésion au Programme de transition qui est offert dans les grandes zones d'activité industrielle; elles peuvent ainsi se loger moyennant 25 pour cent de leurs revenus. Dans les centres urbains de l'Alberta, il y a peu de logements subventionnés car l'aide fédérale n'est disponible que pour les villes de moins de 2000 habitants et que les subventions provinciales ne sont accordées qu'à condition que la province soit détentrice du titre de propriété.

C'est au cours des années 1920 que les organisations amérindiennes naquirent en Alberta, mais ce n'est qu'à la fin des années soixante, suite à la parution du Livre blanc du gouvernement fédéral en 1969, qu'elles devinrent hautement politisées. L'Association des Indiens de l'Alberta lutte pour que les Amérindiens obtiennent le contrôle des affaires qui les concernent, c'est-à-dire, pour qu'ils arrivent à détenir l'autorité législative, exécutive et administrative sur leurs territoires, leurs ressources et leur nation. Au cours des trente dernières années, les organisations amérindiennes se sont centrées sur l'éducation, leurs rapports avec le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord les droits aborigènes et les traités. Depuis le début des années 1980, ils semblent surtout s'intéresser au rapatriement de la Constitution canadienne, aux revendications territoriales et à la culture amérindienne. La deuxième organisation autochtone en importance est l'Association des Métis de l'Alberta qui s'intéresse prioritairement aux questions de droit civil et lutte pour obtenir le contrôle des colonies métisses de l'Alberta. Même si l'Association des Indiens de l'Alberta et l'Association des Métis ont leur siège social à Edmonton, elles s'intéressent davantage aux problèmes ruraux et aux services nécessaires dans réserves qu'à toutes les questions liées à l'urbanisation des Amérindiens. Les organisations amérindiennes de la province sont subventionnées par le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord, le Secrétariat d'État, le gouvernement albertain et des dons privés. La Société de la voix des femmes autochtones de l'Alberta est une autre organisation amérindienne qui recrute sa clientèle chez les Indiens. Cette organisation défend les intérêts des autochtones de droit et de fait. Le Fonds culturel albertain finance des programmes spécifiques, créés pour promouvoir la culture amérindienne tels que la Société des communications amérindiennes de l'Alberta, l'*Indian News Media*, les Centres d'accueil et la Semaine de conscientisation amérindienne.

En contexte urbain, les principales organisations qui offrent de l'aide financière et des services d'orientation aux nouveaux venus sont les Centres d'accueil autochtones. Ces centres reçoivent leurs fonds de roulement du Secrétariat d'État. Leurs programmes spécifiques sont subventionnés par le Secrétariat amérindien, le Fonds communautaire uni, le programme Travail Canada et le gouvernement albertain. Le Regroupement des jeunes citadins Amérindiens de Calgary est un autre centre d'orientation où les Amérindiens peuvent également bénéficier de programmes culturels et éducatifs. En Alberta, les organisations amérindiennes sont toujours financées par les gouvernements et elles sont donc assujetties à des politiques et des programmes qui correspondent rarement à leurs propres objectifs. Les gouvernements provincial et fédéral mettent en doute la représentativité de l'Association des Indiens de l'Alberta et de la Société des Métis.

L'auteur présente enfin une typologie des organisations albertaines qui s'intéressent aux Amérindiens. Les politiques et les orientations de ces organismes varient selon qu'elles sont dépendantes du fédéral, du provincial ou des Amérindiens. Ces organismes sont composés d'administrateurs, de travailleurs sociaux, de clients ou de représentants de la communauté ayant chacun leurs propres valeurs. Selon les types d'organisations, les clivages se produisent à différents niveaux. Les organisations de type A ou organismes de service public offrent des services à tous les citoyens albertains, Amérindiens ou non. Les organisations de type B et C visent l'acculturation, c'est-à-dire que leur objectif sous-jacent est d'assimiler le peuple amérindien à la société canadienne. Dans les organismes du type B, des clivages se produisent entre les administrateurs et les clients alors que dans les organismes du type C, les clivages peuvent se produire pour des raisons raciales, étant donné que certains travailleurs sociaux et clients sont Amérindiens, alors que les administrateurs et la plupart des membres de la communauté ne le sont pas. Les organisations de type D et E sont « accommodantes », c'est-à-dire qu'elles tiennent compte de la culture amérindienne dans l'élaboration de leurs politiques et programmes. Dans les organismes du type D, il y a rupture entre les chefs de file de la communauté et le reste de la structure organisationnelle. Ces organisations ont de la difficulté à réunir les fonds qui leur sont nécessaires et elles dépendent souvent des organismes du type A. À son tour, cette dépendance empêche la consolidation et l'intégration des services sociaux destinés aux Amérindiens établis en milieu urbain. Les organismes du type E sont des fraternités réunissant uniquement des Amérindiens qui dépendent souvent de subventions gouvernementales.

Plusieurs Amérindiens établis dans des centres urbains maintiennent des liens très étroits avec leurs réserves. Ils en arrivent parfois à établir une sorte de double résidence, quittant souvent la ville pour retourner dans leur réserve à cause de la façon dont ils sont traités par les différents types d'organisations avec lesquelles ils entrent en contact et la nature des relations qu'ils ont avec ces organismes. L'auteur considère que c'est là l'élément principal qui empêche souvent les Amérindiens de s'adapter à la vie urbaine. Il y a un manque de concertation entre ces divers organismes en ce qui concerne tant les buts et les objectifs de la politique amérindienne que l'importance et l'utilisation des subventions et l'élaboration des programmes.

Évolution récente de la politique amérindienne du Canada

Dans ce chapitre, sur l'évolution récente de la politique amérindienne du Canada, Monsieur Bostrom déclare qu'entre 1830 et 1860, le gouvernement britannique projetait d'assimiler les Amérindiens mais qu'il mit cependant en oeuvre certaines mesures isolationnistes, comme la création des réserves, qui allait à l'encontre de cette politique qui s'est perpétuée après 1860, alors que la responsabilité des affaires indiennes fut transmise à l'administration canadienne par le gouvernement britannique. Cette politique a placé les Amérindiens dans une situation d'infériorité car la curatelle fédérale les a empêchés d'exercer le moindre contrôle significatif sur l'utilisation de leurs territoires et de leurs ressources. Par conséquent, leur culture et leur mode de vie se sont détériorés mais, en dépit de ces contraintes, les Amérindiens ne veulent pas couper les ponts avec le gouvernement canadien, car ils sont persuadés d'être en droit d'obtenir une certaine forme de réparation pour les injustices qu'ils ont subies dans le passé Ce n'est qu'en 1964 que le gouvernement fédéral tenta, sans succès, d'abandonner aux gouvernements provinciaux une partie de ses responsabilités face aux Amérindiens. Le Livre blanc sur la politique amérindienne publié en 1969 énonçait clairement cet objectif, mais ce Livre blanc fut tellement critiqué par les Amérindiens, qui n'avaient pas été consultés sur son contenu, que le gouvernement dut le révoquer officiellement. Le gouvernement a néanmoins réussi à transférer graduellement les services offerts aux Amérindiens à des ministères fédéraux autres que celui des Affaires indiennes et du Nord ainsi qu'aux provinces.

En 1964, le gouvernement fédéral proposait d'adopter une approche ponctuelle pour tous les programmes et services offerts aux Amérindiens en transférant aux gouvernements provinciaux les fonds requis. Cette formule de partage des coûts était basée sur le principe que les frais *per capita* des services offerts aux Amérindiens diminueraient au fur et à mesure qu'ils s'adapteraient à la société canadienne. La conférence fédérale-provinciale sur les affaires amérindiennes de 1964, qui prônait l'amélioration des conditions socio-économiques des Amérindiens, la création de comités chargés d'analyser les implications des accords sur le partage des coûts et la consultation des Amérindiens, semble avoir donné naissance à un certain consensus. On n'y considérait cependant que le seul aspect du bien-être social et toutes les provinces, à l'exception de l'Ontario, refusèrent de signer une entente selon laquelle le ministère de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social acceptait d'assumer 97 pour cent du coût des programmes de bien-être destinés aux Amérindiens.

En 1966, une conférence ministérielle, sur les questions amérindiennes, recommandait au Conseil économique des Prairies de modifier les programmes et les services destinés aux personnes de descendance indienne et que tout nouveau système soit conçu pour fonctionner selon une approche globale plutôt que ponctuelle. Ces recommandations furent transmises au Premier Ministre du Canada en 1967, mais on ne leur donna pas suite, en partie parce que le gouvernement changea de chef et qu'un remaniement ministériel s'ensuivit. En 1968, d'autres conférences ministérielles et sous-ministérielles s'intéressèrent au problème amérindien, mais aucune des solutions avancées ne fut mise en application et le gouvernement fédéral se refusa à toute négociation ultérieure avec les provinces. À la demande du Premier Ministre, qui voulait régler le dilemme amérindien une fois pour toutes, un comité interministériel rédigeait discrètement le Livre blanc sur la politique indienne qui fut publié en 1969.

Ce Livre blanc proposait la suppression graduelle du ministère des

Affaires indiennes et du Nord, échelonnée sur une période de cinq ans, la suppression des bases législatives et constitutionelles de la discrimination, ce qui impliquait la révocation de la Loi sur les Indiens et le transfert du contrôle des territoires amérindiens aux autochtones eux-mêmes, la possibilité pour les Amérindiens d'avoir accès à tous les services offerts aux autres Canadiens par tous les ministères ou agences des gouvernements fédéral ou provinciaux, la constitution de fonds pour le développement économique des Amérindiens; la nomination d'un commissaire aux revendications territoriales; et la collaboration avec la Fraternité nationale des Indiens pour la mise en vigueur d'une nouvelle politique. Ce Livre blanc était basé sur la prémisse que les structures juridiques et administratives spéciales qui gouvernent le peuple amérindien étaient « discriminatoires » et qu'une simple révocation du statut spécial des Amérindiens assurerait leur bien-être immédiat et leur développement futur. Les communautés amérindiennes à travers le Canada dénoncèrent le Livre blanc parce qu'elles n'avaient pas été consultées lors de son élaboration, même si elles l'avaient été en 1968-69, au sujet de la révision de la Loi sur les Indiens.

La publication du Livre blanc est l'événement historique qui contribua le plus à l'unification des gens de descendance indienne au Canada et qui leur donna le sentiment d'avoir des objectifs communs. En 1970, l'Association des Indiens de l'Alberta, appuyée par la Fraternité des Indiens du Manitoba, remit un Livre rouge au Premier Ministre du Canada. Ce document soulignait que :

- la reconnaissance du statut d'Amérindien est essentielle du point de vue de la justice.
- le gouvernement fédéral est tenu par l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique d'accepter la responsabilité législative des Amérindiens et de leurs territoires, et qu'il ne peut transférer à sa guise ses responsabilités aux provinces.
- la révocation de la Loi sur les Indiens n'est ni possible, ni désirable.

Le Premier Ministre accepta d'accorder aux Amérindiens la possibilité de trouver leurs propres solutions, et il promit qu'aucune décision unilatérale ne serait prise en ce qui les concernait. Étant donné l'échec du Livre blanc, le gouvernement fédéral se retrouvait sans politique amérindienne précise et le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord semblait plongé dans le désarroi. Par contre, les Amérindiens se retrouvaient dans une position beaucoup plus forte et leurs associations commencèrent à obtenir des subventions plus importantes du fédéral, ce qui leur permit de se développer considérablement.

De 1970 à 1976, le gouvernement fédéral adopta une stratégie pragmatique qui semblait mettre en application les objectifs du Livre blanc. Il opta également pour la mise sur pied d'un mécanisme consultatif au niveau du Cabinet afin d'améliorer ses relations avec les Amérindiens. Il continua toutefois d'espérer que les gouvernements provinciaux continueraient à fournir de plus en plus de services aux Amérindiens. L'interprétation de la situation actuelle par le fédéral pourrait se résumer comme suit :

> Les provinces sont prêtes à fournir des services aux Amérindiens si on leur propose des ententes acceptables, mais elles ne le feront pas à moins d'y être invitées tant par les Amérindiens que par le gouvernement fédéral. Même s'ils en reconnaissent l'utilité, les Amérindiens sont réticents à exiger des services des provinces car ils craignent que cela ne contribue à l'érosion de leur statut spécial. Par conséquent, lorsque le nouveau mécanisme consultatif fédéral-amérindien sera fonctionnel, le gouvernement fédéral a l'intention d'inviter les provinces à participer aux discussions qu'il aura avec les groupes amérindiens.

Les restrictions budgétaires imposées au ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord en vertu du Livre blanc de 1969 affectent aussi sérieusement les Amérindiens. On a eu tendance à noyer les dépenses faites au profit des Amérindiens dans les budgets des autres ministères et agences, sans tenir compte des implications politiques de cette façon d'agir ou de l'impact qu'elle pourrait avoir sur le bien-être des Amérindiens. Étant donné ces restrictions budgétaires, il est maintenant plus important que jamais de s'assurer que l'argent disponible est dépensé de façon rentable.

Considérant les divers problèmes qui ont été identifiés, il sera essentiel que les gouvernements provinciaux participent avec le gouvernement fédéral à toutes les discussions qui auront lieu avec les Amérindiens. Puisque les gouvernements provinciaux sont plus près des problèmes, ils sont mieux placés pour renseigner le gouvernement fédéral et les Amérindiens sur l'importance réelle du phénomène d'urbanisation des Amérindiens. En ce faisant, ils pourraient s'assurer que l'exode des Amérindiens vers les villes ne devienne pas un prétexte pour que le gouvernement fédéral mette fin à ses rapports particuliers avec les Amérindiens.

Politiques gouvernementales et programmes relatifs aux Amérindiens vivant en milieu urbain: une analyse de l'expérience américaine

Ce chapitre rédigé par le professeur John Price décrit les politiques administratives américaines relatives à l'urbanisation des Amérindiens. Le texte est parsemé de comparaisons avec les politiques du gouvernement canadien. Au départ, l'auteur rappelle les éléments déterminants de l'urbanisation amérindienne, c'est-à-dire, les facteurs culturels qui ont influencé les « modes » d'urbanisation. Comparativement à leurs homologues de l'Amérique du Nord anglo-saxonne, les Amérindiens vivant dans un environnement canadien-français jouissent d'une meilleure qualité de vie. Ils ont aussi adopté des modes d'urbanisation et des institutions assez caractéristiques.

Le niveau d'évolution d'une communauté amérindienne par rapport à ses traditions influence la capacité d'adaptation de ses membres à la vie en milieu urbain. Les individus originaires de sociétés purement tribales éprouvent des problèmes excessifs lorsqu'ils tentent de s'adapter à un environnement urbain. D'autres facteurs culturels affectent également la capacité d'adaptation d'une société amérindienne en milieu urbain. On compte parmi ces facteurs le fait de préférer un mode de vie aborigène à un mode de vie colonial à l'intérieur d'une réserve, l'éloignement modéré de la réserve par rapport à un centre urbain plutôt qu'une très grande proximité de la ville ou un grand éloignement, soit à la campagne ou dans la brousse.

Ce chapitre récapitule les principaux problèmes à long terme qui sont au coeur même des politiques et programmes élaborés au niveau du fédéral, plutôt qu'au niveau des différents états. On y résume les conflits d'intérêt qui existent au sein de la bureaucratie fédérale, les traités de cession de terres et les revendications territoriales, les droits des aborigènes et ceux qu'ils ont acquis par traités, la migration des réserves vers les villes et les réactions contre les politiques qui visent à abolir le statut spécial. Le texte comporte une liste chronologique des changements majeurs de politiques survenus surtout depuis la promulgation de la Loi des droits civils des Amérindiens en 1968. La plupart de ces changements avaient pour objet de résoudre la série de problèmes nés de la politique globale d'auto-détermination sans révocation du statut spécial. En vertu de la Constitution américaine, les Amérindiens ont des droits en tant que citoyens et d'autres droits, parfois conflictuels, en tant que membres de tribus semi-souveraines. Par exemple, puisque les tribus ne sont pas tenues de séparer les pouvoirs administratif, législatif et judiciaire de leurs gouvernements tribaux, un conseil de tribu peut remplir toutes ses fonctions à la fois. Des critères d'admissibilité aux programmes gouvernementaux ont été mis sur pied à l'intention des Amérindiens établis à l'intérieur des réserves.

Une brève description des principaux programmes destinés aux Amérindiens, ainsi que des organigrammes pertinents, nous montrent clairement de quelles façons le gouvernement américain effectue le partage des responsabilités en ce qui a trait aux affaires indiennes. Avant le milieu des années soixante-dix, la stratégie gouvernementale était d'employer des Amérindiens dans les ministères et agences au service des Amérindiens. On a adopté récemment une approche différente qui consiste à encourager les Amérindiens à s'auto-déterminer en remettant les pouvoirs aux bandes et aux gouvernements tribaux.

Après avoir comparé les politiques canadiennes et américaines relatives aux Amérindiens, l'auteur conclut que les politiques et les programmes américains ont plus d'envergure, qu'ils sont plus explicites, plus clairement définis par les statuts, plus sensibles aux différences qui existent entre les diverses communautés amérindiennes et plus avancés que les politiques canadiennes en ce qui a trait aux problèmes créés par l'auto-détermination et l'urbanisation.

L'annexe A présente une liste chronologique des événements reliés aux politiques américaines relatives aux Amérindiens. Cette liste couvre la longue phase de la conquête et de la colonisation de l'histoire américaine; la brève tentative de renforcer les politiques et les traditions des cultures amérindiennes qui marqua la fin des années vingt et les années trente, l'orientation qui prévalut des années quarante jusqu'à la fin des années soixante et qui voulait mettre fin aux rapports spéciaux qui existaient entre le gouvernement et les Amérindiens, et enfin, la phase actuelle, qui débuta vers 1968, où l'on encourage l'auto-détermination sans révocation du statut particulier.

L'annexe B présente les événements marquants des histoires américaine et canadienne en ce qui concerne la culture autochtone et les politiques gouvernementales.

Introduction

Raymond Breton

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Introduction

Objectives

Over the years, many studies have been carried out in relation to Canada's people of Indian ancestry. Some have been historical; some have focused on the characteristics of Native cultures and social organizations; others have documented the demographic evolution and the generally dreadful socio-economic conditions of the Native population; still others have dealt with the legal-administrative apparatus within which Indian people and communities have to function; a few have described and analysed the attitudes towards Natives of non-Native Canadians; and a few have examined the mainstream institutions (political, educational, economic, religious) that relate to Native people, provide services to them or, to a more or less significant extent, organize or affect their lives.

It seems appropriate to distinguish, in a very general way, between two types of studies. Those of one sort have focused on Native people, and on how they have been, and still are, affected by the attitudes and behaviour of non-Native individuals and institutions. Those of the other sort have dealt with mainstream institutions and people in relation to

Canadians of Indian ancestry and on the ways in which the former have, from time to time, exploited the latter, exchanged resources with them, assisted them, tried to assimilate them, fought with them and co-operated with them.

The present study belongs to the second stream of research: it focuses on government policies and programs in relation to people of Indian ancestry living off reserves, for the most part in cities. It is restricted geographically to Canada's three Prairie provinces, but includes, of course, federal policies and programs that are implemented in those provinces.

Since the early 1970s, governments and their departments and agencies[1] have reacted in a variety of ways to the increasing urbanization of Native Canadians. Sometimes they have shown indifference, but often they have developed new policies and corresponding programs or have extended or adapted existing programs to serve urban Indians. The present study attempts to provide an overview of the complex array of programs that have been established over the years. The authors have considered a number of facets of the programs:

- Their relationship to explicitly formulated policies, whenever such statements can be found or, more often, to implicit policies or policy orientations
- The cultural and ideological assumptions that underlie the definition of the problems faced by Native people in cities; the social theories that are implicitly or explicitly used to identify the causes of those problems and the kind of action required to deal with them; the organizational theories that define or justify the structures established for implementing the programs; and the standards that have established the criteria of eligibility for each program
- The organizational structures and processes through which the various programs are implemented

- The legal/administrative apparatus to which the specification of programs and their implementation are subject
- The network of agencies and groups involved in the definition and operation of the programs
- The level of resources channelled into the various programs, the problems encountered in mobilizing those resources, and the system of rules, procedures and agencies through which the programs are administered.

There are several fields in which programs for urban Indians can and do exist. The authors had to make a choice at the beginning of this study: we had either to attempt a detailed analysis of a particular field, such as education, or to provide an overview of the main orientations of policy and the principal features of programs in a wide range of areas. We decided to adopt the latter course of action. We based that decision on our belief that a *vue d'ensemble* would be useful in its own right, and that it would serve as a guide in the undertaking of subsequent projects that would focus on specific areas of governmental action. The reports that follow, then, provide an overview of policies and programs in several areas. These are:

- Employment training; employment and economic development
- Education
- Law and justice
- Health, welfare and housing
- The socio-political organization of Native people.

Important Issues

In preparing this study, the authors have paid attention to a variety of issues encountered in the formation of policies and/or in the development of programs for urban Indians. These issues are not primarly conceptual or theoretical, although those aspects may be quite significant. Rather, they are political in the sense that they involve controversy and power struggles between and within Canada's Native and non-Native communities. The issues are complex, in part, because an intricate network of participants has an interest in their outcome. Their resolution will take time, since it will have to be worked out through the political process.

Because of this reality, the reports that follow do not offer solutions to problems. Their aim is to throw light on what the issues entail, on the implications of various possibilities for the future, and on the factors that will need to be dealt with in finding a resolution. We hope that by describing and analysing what is going on in various policy fields in relation to urban Indians, we can broaden the conceptual and informational base on which concerned groups and individuals will deal with the issues.

Some issues are specific to particular policy areas; a number, however, cut across several policy fields and often hold implications for the objectives of various programs and for the organization through which these programs are implemented. Generally speaking, four categories of issues recur throughout the study: issues pertaining to the definition of the clientèle, the type of action to be pursued, the long-term objectives of programs, and their administrative apparatus.

One issue relating to the definition of the *clientele* is whether programs should be designed specifically for Native people, or whether Native people should simply avail themselves of existing programs for Canadian residents with particular kinds of needs. A related question is whether or not the design and/or the administration of programs should explicitly recognize the different categories of Native people: status and non-status Indians and Métis.

There are three issues pertaining to the type of action to be pursued. First, the desirability and viability of 'affirmative action' are matters of concern; so are the methods of implementing such programs. Another issue is whether programs should be designed primarily to accelerate the adaptation of people of Indian ancestry to mainstream institutions (educational, economic, and so on) and to provide remedial services for those who fail to adapt, or whether an attempt should be made to adapt non-Native institutions to the culture of Native people and, if so, how far the process should go in each institutional area. A third issue concerns the relative emphasis that should be given to remedial, preventive and developmental programs. The first category includes programs that attempt to deal with immediate problems or with the 'symptoms' of problems. Preventive programs aim to alleviate the causes of problems. Developmental programs attempt to create opportunities for socio-economic activities and to rebuild Native communities.[2]

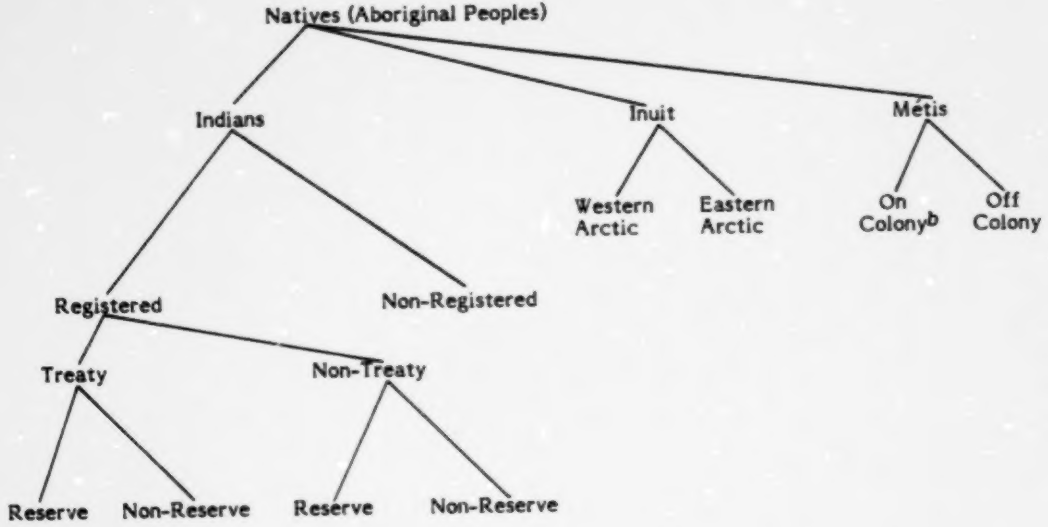
In the administrative category, jurisdictional issues seem to cause the most controversy and the greatest concern. These issues raise a number of questions: Which level of government should pay for and/or administer various programs for different categories of Native people? Are status Indians a federal responsibility only when they live on a reserve, or when they live off reserves as well? Large sums of money are involved in working out an answer to these questions, but there is more to the problem than money. There is also the question of the continued recognition of status Indians as distinct from non-status Indians, and of the prerogatives that such status entails. Another administrative issue concerns the size of administrative expenditures relative to the sums that reach individuals and communities in the form of various kinds of services.

Public policies usually place authority in the hands of certain people, who exercise it over others as they implement and administer programs. These people exercise this authority either implicitly or explicitly in forming policy and/or in designing programs. For this reason, an important component of the administrative question concerns the participation of people of Indian ancestry as front-line workers, support staff, administrators, or managers with the highest level of authority in an organization or agency. The exercise of such authority is seen in several different areas such as education, welfare, rehabilitation, business and industry, housing, and employment.

Finally, at a fundamental level, there are issues pertaining to the long-term objectives of the policies and programs examined. Whether or not it be legally or socially recognized at present, should the objective of these policies and programs be, in fact, the progressive erosion and eventual elimination of the special status of Native people? Or should it be the integration of Native people into Canadian society, with special arrangements to accommodate at least certain aspects of their 'special status'? A related issue is whether Indians should be encouraged directly, or indirectly, to leave their reserves, move to cities, and become part of Canada's mainstream economy, or whether attempts should be made to maintain or increase the socio-economic viability of as many reserves as possible. Part of that issue consists of deciding whether socio-economic development will be encouraged in Native communities and, if so, to what extent. If the decision is affirmative, should such development be promoted on or off reserves? Or should Native people be encouraged to integrate as individual wage earners in mainstream economic institutions? The first possibility involves the difficult question of 'community control', which, of course, can exist in varying degrees and in many forms.

There seems to be fairly general consensus that Canada's ultimate goal is equality between Native and non-Native citizens. However, the partial list of issues mentioned above clearly shows that beyond this general objective, there may be little agreement on how to move in the direction of that goal, and on what 'equality' means in practical institutional terms. Yet, as the following reports show, decisions are made and implemented; courses of action are adopted; movement is occurring in certain directions. We hope that this study begins to delineate the emerging patterns.

Figure 1:1 Different Subgroups of Native People in Canada[a]


Natives (Aboriginal Peoples)
Indians
Inuit
Métis
Western Arctic
Eastern Arctic
On Colony[b]
Off Colony
Registered
Non-Registered
Treaty
Non-Treaty
Reserve
Non-Reserve
Reserve
Non-Reserve

Notes

[a] James Frideres, *Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1974), Figure 1.

[b] In Aberta, there are eight Métis colonies (similar to reserves).

The Urbanization of Native People

As we have already indicated, this study is restricted to policies and programs relating to people of Indian ancestry who live off reserves, primarily in cities. One reason for this choice of subject was practicality: some limitations had to be imposed on the scope of the study. The primary basis for adopting the restriction, however, was the fact that Native people were becoming increasingly urbanized, and this development was posing new requirements for public policy.

When considering the Native-urbanization phenomenon, it is important to bear in mind the great diversity within Canada's aboriginal population. First, there is the major distinction between Indian, Inuit, and Métis. Within the Indian subgroup, a critical distinction exists between registered (status) and non-registered (non-status) persons:

> Persons entitled to be *registered* and to have *status* under the Indian Act are those who were registered in 1874, their direct descendants in the male line, and the wives and children of such persons.[3]

It should also be noted that not all registered Indians have a relationship with the federal government that is partly defined in a treaty. Hence the distinction between 'treaty' and 'non-treaty' Indians. The various aboriginal subgroups are represented graphically in Figure 1:1.

There is also considerable cultural diversity within the Indian population:

> Prior to contact with Europeans there were at least six distinct cultural types among the "Indian" population. The different groups for the most part lived in quite different ecological environments and consequently pursued quite

> different economies and life styles. In turn, differences and variations appeared in their spiritual beliefs and larger cultural systems. Across these six cultural areas there were a total of ten major linguistic groupings. The most common nowadays are the Algonkian, Athapaskan, Iroquoian, and Salishan, which respectively encompass 64%, 9%, 9%, and 8% of the registered Indian population. In addition, the ten major linguistic groupings are broken into a total of over fifty dialects of which the most commonly spoken are Cree (spoken by 30% of registered Indians), Ojibway (21%), Mohawk (6%), and Micmac (4%). Although most Indians now also speak English, this has been a relatively recent development characteristic only of the post-World War II era. Thus, when we consider this cultural-linguistic diversity, it is not surprising that Indians' efforts to organize at the national level met with little success prior to the 1960s.[4]

The distribution of the Native population of Canada and of each province and the Territories, as of 1977, appears in Table 1:1. This table shows that as a percentage of the total population, the Native population is largest, comparatively, in the four Western provinces and in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. It also shows that the combined non-status Indian and Métis population is considerably larger than the registered or status-Indian population: in fact, the former group is estimated to be over two and a half times larger than the latter.

Status Indians are grouped into bands which are "...administratively defined group[s] of Indians who are given the right to use specified crown lands, called *reserves*, and who are given money to administer their community."[5] Although all registered Indians enjoy the right to live on reserves, in fact, a substantial proportion live off reserves. As of 1979,

Table 1:1 Distribution of Native Population, 1977[a]

Province	Population	Status Indian Population	Estimated Métis and Non-Status Indian Population	Estimated Inuit Population	Estimated Total Native Population	% Native
Newfoundland	557 700	—	1 200	2 200	3 400	0.6
Prince Edward Island	118 200	466	1 400	—	1 866	1.6
Nova Scotia	828 600	5 417	8 100	—	13 517	1.6
New Brunswick	677 300	5 096	7 600	—	12 696	1.9
Quebec	6 234 300	31 333	78 200	4 410	113 943	1.8
Ontario	8 264 500	63 685	159 200	—	222 885	2.7
Manitoba	1 021 500	42 630	127 800	—	170 430	16.7
Saskatchewan	921 300	43 651	130 950	—	174 601	19.0
Alberta	1 838 000	34 537	103 600	—	138 137	7.5
British Columbia	2 466 600	54 192	162 500	—	216 692	8.8
Yukon Territory	21 800	2 766	7 200	—	9 966	45.7
Northwest Territories	42 600	7 397	10 500	16 150	34 047	80.0
Canada	22 992 600	291 170	798 250	22 760	1 112 180	4.8

Note

a. Statistics Canada, *Estimates of Population for Canada and the Provinces* (cat. no. 91-201) (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1978); A.J. Siggner, C. Locatelli, and D. Stewart, "Socio-Economic and Demographic Trends for the Registered Indian Population: A Working Paper" (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1978); and unpublished data supplied by Native Council of Canada and Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. As adapted in Victor F. Valentine, "Native Peoples and Canadian Society: A Profile of Issues and Trends" in Raymond Breton, Jeffrey G. Reitz and Victor F. Valentine, eds., *Cultural Bounderies and the Cohesion of Canada* (Montreal: The Institute for Reseach on Public Policy, 1980), p. 81.

the estimates of Indians living off reserve in Canada and in each of the three Prairie provinces were as follows:

Canada	29.5%
Manitoba	27.0%
Saskatchewan	33.8%
Alberta	23.3%

Not all off-reserve status Indians reside in cities. In 1977 a little over one third (36.5%) of all off-reserve Indians in Canada lived in urban[6] or semi-urban[7] locations. Table 1:2 also shows that about the same percentage (34.7%) of on-reserve as of off-reserve Indians (36.5%) live in urban and semi-urban locations.

Table 1:2 Percentage Distribution of Registered Indian Population by Residence and Band Location, 1977[a]

	Band Location[b]				
	Urban %	Semi-Urban %	Rural %	Remote %	Total %
Canada:					
On-reserve[c]	14.9	19.8	37.4	27.9	100.0
Off-reserve	13.9	22.6	41.6	21.9	100.0
Average	14.6	20.6	38.6	26.2	100.0

Notes

a. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Statistics Division, "Registered Indian Population By Sex and Residence, 1977", (Ottawa: Program Reference Centre, 1979.

b. See pp. 24, 25, notes 7 and 8, for definitions.

c. Includes reserves on Crown land.

The proportion of registered Indians living off reserve has been increasing for a number of years and is expected to continue to increase in the Prairie provinces during the coming years. These trends are represented in Figure 1:2.[8] The reason for such a pattern of residence among on-reserve Indians is that many bands are located in urban or semi-urban environments. (See Table 1:3.)

Table 1:3 [a] Number of Bands by Type of Location, [b]
Canada and Regions, 1977

Regions [c]	*Total*	*Urban*	*Semi-Urban*	*Rural*	*Remote*
Atlantic	29	6	10	13	-
Quebec	39	5	15	5	14
Ontario	115	8	21	52	34
Manitoba	57	1	5	26	25
Saskatchewan	68	2	13	43	10
Alberta	41	3	12	19	7
British Columbia	194	23	41	77	53
Mackenzie	16	—	1	7	8
Yukon	14	1	—	—	13
Total Canada	573	49	118	242	164

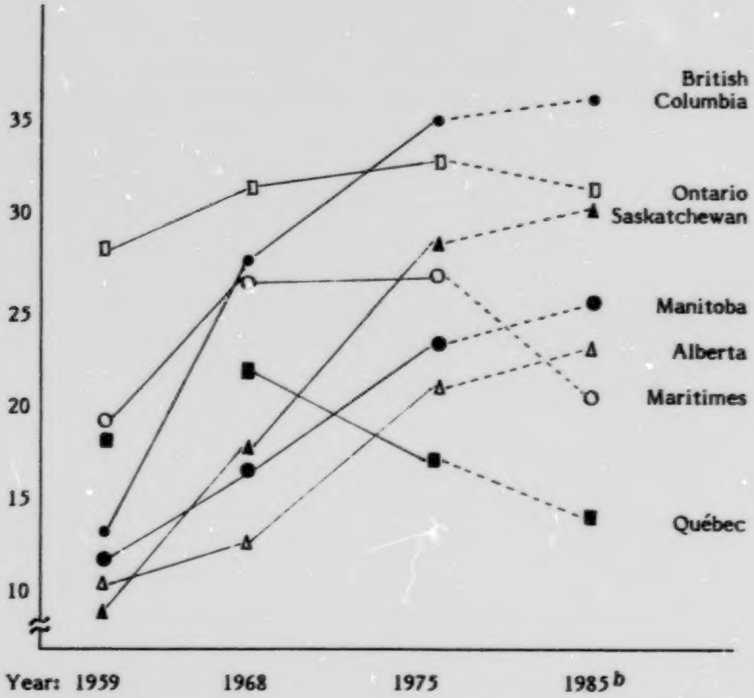
Notes

a. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Research Branch, 9.1.80.

b. See pp. 24, 25, notes 7 and 8, for definition of terms.

c. The term 'Region' corresponds to the administrative regions of the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program.

Figure 1:2 Actual and Projected Changes in Off-Reserve Residence Levels (1959 to 1985) by Province[a]



Notes

a. Linda Gerber, "Trends in Out-Migration from Indian Communities Across Canada" (Ottawa : Department of the Secretary of State, Task Force on Migrating Native Peoples, 1977), p. 72.

b. 1985 projections are based upon the migratory patterns of band members ages 20-29 in the 1968-1975 interval and are merely *suggestive* of trends in the immediate future.

It should be noted that the distinctions mentioned above, which exist between status and non-status Indians, treaty and non-treaty Indians, and perhaps even between Métis and Indians, are not necessarily relevant in the urban context. These distinctions may be important for administrative or political purposes; they may have considerable subjective importance for people of Indian ancestry themselves. However, individuals and organizations of the larger non-Native community may not make, and may not even be aware of, those distinctions in their perceptions of Native people or in their day-to-day interaction with them.[9]

The residential patterns of registered Indians is partly the result of the location of their bands; it is also, in part, the result of migration patterns. The overall pattern of migration of Indians (using 1971 census data) is described in the following comment, which makes reference to Table 1:4:

> It is widely believed that Indians are highly mobile. Interestingly though, the 1971 census data which examines the migration of the population in the 1966-71 period, reveals that a smaller proportion of the Indian population (20%) than of the overall Canadian population (25%) had moved one or more times during this period. Yet the aforementioned belief is actually not totally incorrect, for those Indians who did move exhibited a higher frequency of migration than the nonIndian population. More specifically, in [Table 1:4] we present a percentage breakdown of the Indian migrant population classified in terms of place of residence in 1966 ("origin") and in 1971 ("destination"). In that [table] we observe that urban areas were the destination of slightly more than half (52%) of the migrants. Inspection of the "Total" columns reveals that they gained more of the migrant population through this in-

Table I:4 Percentage Distribution of All Registered Indian Migrants According to 1966 Place of Origin and 1971 Destination [a]

1966 Origin	1971 Destination Indian Reserves [a]	Rural Non-Reserve	Urban Non-Metropolitan (1000 – 99 999 pol.)	Urban Metropolitan Area (100 000 pop.)	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Indian Reserves	12 [b]	3	3	3	21
Rural Non-Reserve	6	10	9	7	32
Urban Non-Metropolitan (1000 - 99 999)	5	5	10	6	26
Urban Metropolitan (100 000 pop.)	4	3	4	10	21
Total	27	21	26	26	100

Notes

a. Unpublished 1971 Census tabulations as shown in Siggner, "A Socio-demographic profile", p. 45.

b. Among the percentages of migrants as shown along the diagonal above, 11 per cent of all migrants were living on the same Indian Reserves in 1966 and 1971 and 1 per cent on different Indian Reserves in 1966; 4 per cent in the same Rural Non-Reserve Areas and 6 per cent in different Rural Non-Reserve Areas; 3 per cent in the same Urban Non-Metropolitan Areas and 7 per cent in different Urban Metropolitan areas.

> migration than they lost through out-migration ([26% + 26%] - [26% + 21%] = +5%). Interestingly, Indian reserves also gained more in-migrants than they lost through out-migration (27% - 21% = +6%). The big losers were the rural non-reserve areas, which lost population amounting to eleven percent (21% - 32% = -11%) of the migrating Indians.[10]

The same author also points out that "...almost one-quarter of all Indian migrants had moved four or more times during the five-year period...."[11] This pattern, as he indicates, may cause Native people to experience significant difficulties in finding a structure of opportunities.

Let us look briefly at the urban occupational structure of the Prairie provinces and its evolution. First, on the basis of an analysis of 1951-, 1961-, and 1971-census data for five urban areas[12] in the Prairie provinces, the following general observation has been made about the overall evolution of the occupational structure:[13]

> The distribution shows that the absolute number of occupations has increased in all the urban areas and in all categories over the years. If we interpret this as a trend in job creation in various occupations, job creation has been increasing in all major occupational groups. Of course this does not mean that occupations have increased in the same proportion in all categories. The trend in the percentage distribution shows that this has not been the case. It seems that occupations in managerial, professional and technical divisions have increased to a larger proportion of the labour force in all the five centres.[14]

The same writer also notes that "in the twenty year period the percentage distribution of the labour force by industry has not changed substantially in any of the five urban areas."[15]

Perhaps the most important changes that have occurred are in the level of educational attainment in various occupational categories. Table 1:5 shows this evolution in five major occupational categories for each of the four western provinces.[16] In all five categories the combined percentages of incumbents with nine to twelve years of schooling and with some university education have increased between 1951 and 1971. In the "Service and Recreation" and "Craftsmen, Production Process and Related Workers" categories, secondary and post-secondary education has increased by more than twenty per cent over the twenty-year period.

These data suggest that people entering the labour force are facing increasingly demanding educational requirements either because employers demand higher educational qualifications or because people of increasingly advanced educational background are competing for jobs. Whatever the reasons, it would seem that Indians have been and will continue to be at a growing disadvantage unless their education is dramatically upgraded in the coming years. Indeed, not only have people in various categories of occupation spent more years in school, but the percentage of Grade-2 students who continue in school to Grade 12 appears to have been increasing more rapidly for the Canadian population as a whole than for registered Indians--and this in addition to the fact that the percentage of Indian students at each grade level is far below the percentage of non-Indian students at the corresponding level. (See Figure 1:3.)[17]

The Present Study

Policy makers have been observing the situation that we have just outlined in very general terms. Many have been preoccupied with the increasing urbanization of people of Indian ancestry and have been searching for an appropriate response to this phenomenon. It was, in

Table 1:5 Level of Schooling in Major Occupational Categories in Four Western Provinces, 1951-1971

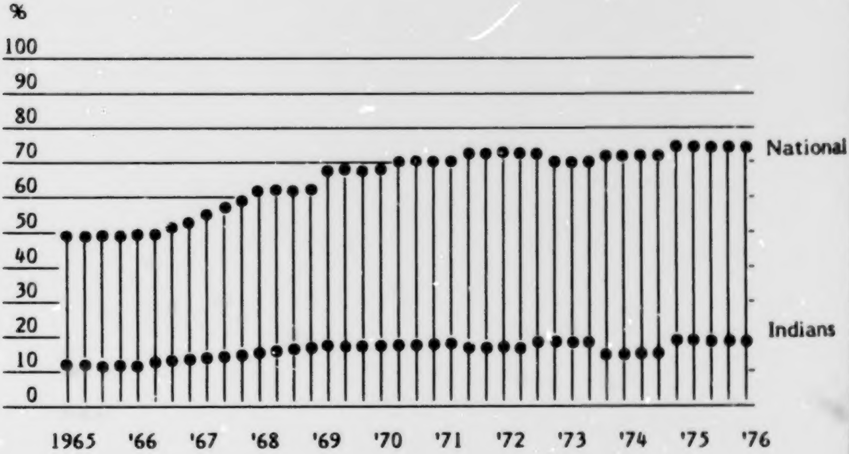
Occupational Category	Level of Schooling	Manitoba		
		1951	1961	1971
Managerial, Professional & Technical:	Grades: 0 - 8	17.2	24.6	7.4
	9 - 12	48.0	41.4	49.3
	University	34.8	34.0	43.3
	Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
Clerical:	Grades: 0 - 8	12.2	32.7	7.4
	9 - 12	78.6	58.8	80.7
	University	9.2	8.5	11.9
	Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sales:	Grades: 0 - 8	27.4	47.5	12.4
	9 - 12	64.2	43.5	73.6
	University	8.3	9.0	14.0
	Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
Service & Recreation:	Grades: 0 - 8	52.7	72.0	32.7
	9 - 12	43.1	24.2	59.8
	University	4.2	3.8	7.5
	Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
Craftsmen, Production Process & Related Workers:	Grades: 0 - 8	58.5	75.7	39.7
	9 - 12	38.8	21.4	54.0
	University	2.7	2.9	6.3
	Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0

Saskatchewan			Alberta		
1951	1961	1971	1951	1961	1971
18.7	26.9	8.7	15.4	24.8	5.7
44.0	39.5	45.2	45.6	37.1	46.5
37.3	33.6	46.1	39.0	38.1	47.8
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
12.2	32.2	7.5	9.1	29.5	5.1
71.0	61.7	79.0	75.8	64.0	82.1
16.8	6.1	13.5	15.1	6.5	12.8
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
30.3	53.1	16.2	21.0	47.6	10.3
61.9	41.0	73.3	68.8	45.8	77.4
7.8	5.9	10.5	10.2	6.6	12.3
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
55.1	75.4	34.0	47.2	71.8	26.4
41.6	21.7	58.4	48.0	25.0	65.9
3.3	2.9	7.6	4.8	3.2	7.7
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
60.8	78.8	38.1	51.2	73.3	29.1
36.4	18.8	55.2	45.2	23.8	63.2
2.8	2.4	6.7	3.6	2.9	7.7
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

fact, policy makers in the Western provinces who suggested that the Institute undertake work in relation to Indian urbanization. The present study is part of the response to those suggestions.

Figure 1:3 Percentage of Students Remaining to Grade 12 from Grade 2[a]

Ten Years Earlier



Note

a. As shown in Department of Indian and Northern Development, *Indian Conditions: A Survey* (Ottawa: The Department, 1980), p. 49.

"Successful school completion (retention) among Indian students has improved modestly in the last 15 years (particularly between 1965 and 1970), but the Indian rate remains less than one-quarter of the national rate."

As we have already stated, this study is concerned with existing government policies and programs. Several Native and non-Native policy makers and officials in charge of programs have informed us that such an analysis would provide useful material for any consideration of further policy and program development. In making the suggestion, a number of these people have noted, sometimes with considerable emphasis, that people of Indian ancestry have been overstudied by comparison with the attention given to the mainstream community and its institutions. We have been told that existing government policies and programs provide a good starting point for studying the relation between mainstream institutions and Canadians of Indian ancestry.

Because the urbanization of Indians seems to be more important, at least proportionately, in the Prairie provinces, it was decided to limit this study to those provinces. The data on which this study is based was collected in 1979 and 1980. Since then, changes have been made in some programs. However, the modifications that have been introduced are relatively minor and pertain to a limited number of programs. They do not involve basic features of the system. Thus orientation of the policies and programs is generally the same today as it was a few years ago, and the analyses that follow are still applicable.

It will be evident to those reading the provincial studies that attention is usually focused on one or two particular cities within a given province. This selection was made simply to make the study more manageable. The organization of the report is simple. The report includes the three provincial studies, an examination of the recent evolution of Canada's Indian policy, and an overview of the American experience with urban Indians as reflected in the general characteristics of the government policies and programs in that country. This overview offers some grounds of comparison with the Canadian experience.

This study is not an 'in-depth' analysis of all relevant policy areas, let alone of all organizations and agencies operating in the various policy fields. Rather, it attempts to provide a critical overview of the main fields. Rather, it attempts to provide a critical overview of the main fields in each of three Prairie provinces. We do not attempt to assess the impact of the policies and programs, largely because of lack of data. We hope, however, that this overview will encourage researchers to undertake impact-assessment studies.

Notes

1. Organizations in business and industry have also reacted to the growing presence of Indians in cities, although their reactions have not been as rapid and as extensive as those of government. There are, for example, a few business or industrial organizations that have established special programs for the recruitment and/or absorption of people of Indian ancestry into their work-force. For an examination of some of these programs, see Gail Grant, *The Concrete Reserve: Corporate Programs for Indians in the Urban Work Place* (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1983).
2. See Paul Weinzweig, "National Survey of Indian Friendship Centres in Canada" (unpublished study, 1980), p. 24.
3. John Price, *Indians of Canada: Cultural Dynamics* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1979), p. 217.
4. Andrew J. Siggner, "A socio-demographic profile of Indians in Canada" in J. Rick Ponting and Roger Gibbins, *Out of Irrelevance: A Socio-political Introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada* (Toronto: Butterworth, 1980), pp. 36-37.
5. Price, *Indians of Canada*, p. 217.
6. An urban band is defined as one that owns significant land in, or contiguous to, an urban centre (that is, a community of 10 000 or more people, with economic characteristics of a city).

7. A semi-urban band is within commuting distance (about sixty-five km) of the nearest urban centre, where good all-weather roads are available. A rural band is located within the Canada Land Inventory (CLI) Boundaries, but is over 65 km from the nearest urban centre or is within CLI boundaries, but lacks reasonable means of transportation (that is, is not served by at least one road). Remote bands include all those within CLI boundaries and all those within CLI boundaries but lacking reasonable means of transportation (that is, not served by any road).
8. Figure 1:2 also shows that the proportion of Indians living off reserve has been declining and is expected to continue to decline in the Atlantic and Quebec regions. In Ontario the decline appears to have levelled off if, indeed, an increase had not begun.
9. This is one of the reasons for the expression 'people of Indian ancestry' frequently used in this study. It is a denotation that is meant to include anyone who defines himself or herself in terms of the various categories of Native people or is so defined by others in the community. The expression is inclusive, yet it allows the introduction of distinctions among different categories of people of Indian ancestry whenever it is relevant to do so.
10. Siggner, "A Socio-demographic Profile", pp. 44-45.
11. Siggner, "A Socio-demographic Profile", p. 46.
12. The five urban areas are: Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton.
13. These results appear in N.M. Lalu, "The Evolution of the Urban Occupational Structure and the Educational Requirement for Job Entry in Western Canada" (unpublished working paper, 1980), pp. 4-5.
14. Lalu, "Urban Occupational Structure", pp. 4-5.

15. Lalu, "Urban Occupational Structure", p. 5.
16. This cross-classification is available only at the provincial level.
17. For documentation on the demographic and socio-economic condition of people of Indian ancestry, see, for example, James S. Frideres, *Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1974) and "Native People in Canada: A Structural Analysis" (mimeo, 1979); Victor F. Valentine, "Native Peoples and Canadian Society: A Profile of Issues and Trends" in Raymond Breton, Jeffrey G. Reitz and Victor F. Valentine: *Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada* (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980); Siggner, "A Socio-demographic Profile"; H. B. Hawthorn (ed.), *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* (2 volumes) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968); Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, *Registered Indian Population by Sex and Residence, Canada, 1977* (Ottawa: Program Reference Centre, 1979); Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Indian Conditions: A Survey* (Ottawa: The Department, 1980); Native Council of Canada, *Survey of Métis and Non-Status Indians: National Demographic and Labour Force Report* (Ottawa: The Council, 1977).

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Government Policies and Programs Relating to People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba

Harvey Bostrom

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1: The Manitoba Setting

Introduction

This study was undertaken in order to analyse the governmental policies and programs, developed since the 1960s at federal, provincial and municipal levels, that relate to people of Indian ancestry living in urban centres of Manitoba. The analysis it provides focuses on policies and programs designed specifically for people of Indian ancestry living in, or moving to, the city. It also covers those programs that are designed for a broader population, but that are relevant to Native people because Natives are eligible for them. At the outset, it was decided to limit the analysis to the city of Winnipeg. That city is not only the largest urban centre in Manitoba, containing over 50 per cent of the province's population, but it is also acknowledged as the major focus of migration for the province's people of Indian ancestry. In fact, the data reveals that of all the Indian people living in urban centres in Manitoba, approximately 97 per cent live in Winnipeg.

This study involved a review of existing literature on the people of Indian ancestry living in Winnipeg, including relevant material relating to the city's poverty and socio-economic problems. Original source material obtained from government files, both federal and provincial, provided the bulk of the data for analysis. Whenever possible, this material was supplemented by discussions and contacts with people involved in projects relevant to the analysis developed for and by Native people. The introductory section of the study provides an overview of the situation facing people of Indian ancestry in the Province of Manitoba, particularly those involved in urban life, and of the analysis of the policy areas that follows in sections 2 to 5. Those four sections provide a detailed analysis of the Manitoba government's policies and programs in the specific areas of Employment Training, Employment and Economic Development, Education, Law and Justice, and Health and Welfare. Special attention is directed to the urban scene and to an examination of the relative contributions made by each level of government in developing policies and providing programs. Section 6, "Social and Political Organizations", outlines the multiplicity of such organizations that have evolved in Winnipeg as the result of a desire to 'do something' about the special problems facing Native people moving to and/or living in that city.

An attempt is made, throughout the study, to focus on the nature of government-policy development that underlies the policies and programs announced and adopted. The trends in government-policy development are examined and described. Whenever possible, the policies and programs are examined on the basis of their applicability to, and adequacy for, the present situation in the urban centre. The issues that are currently debated, inside and outside of governments, are discussed, along with any indications of policy changes or innovations that may be in the offing as a result of these debates.

The analysis of each policy area includes an overview of the related problems facing Manitoba's people of Indian ancestry. This treatment provides background for understanding the present condition of Indian people, an understanding necessary for assessing present programs and the need for future programming. For example, the treatment of funding for government programs takes into account the special problems faced by a province with a relatively small fiscal capacity, especially in relation to the exceptional costs associated with programming for people of Indian ancestry.

Canada's Native People

The word 'Native' is a catch-all term that refers to persons of Indian, Métis and Inuit origin. Status Indians have a special relationship to the federal government on the basis of the Indian Act and of various treaties that have been signed between Indian people and that government. A status Indian is one who is registered with the federal government. An Indian is registered if he or she is a member of an Indian band, is entitled to use the lands of the various tribes and bands in Canada, or is a descendant of a male belonging to one of the above categories. The way in which female Indians are treated by this system provokes continuing controversy. Under present law, an Indian woman loses her status if she marries a man who is not a status Indian. A Native person may lose his or her status rights and become a non-status Indian through marriage, as we have just mentioned, or through 'selling' the treaty rights back to the federal government for agreed compensation. A Métis is a person of mixed Indian and non-Indian ancestry. Inuits are members of Inuit tribes or bands, or descendants of their male members.

The Native Population of Manitoba and Winnipeg

Winnipeg represents the major catchment area for Native people migrating from Manitoba reserves; it also serves as an important target of urban settlement for Native people migrating from north-western Ontario and Saskatchewan. Statistics provided by the Manitoba Health Services Commission indicate that of registered (status) Indians living in

Manitoba's urban centres, 97 per cent live in Winnipeg and 3 per cent in other urban centres of the province. Statistics for 1976 indicate that approximately 24 per cent of Manitoba's registered Indians live in Winnipeg; a total of 10 261 such citizens were living in Winnipeg in 1976, out of a total Native population of 42 303. If we attempted to estimate the total Native population of Winnipeg, the ratio of status Indians to other Native people could range from 1:1 to 1:2. Consequently, in 1976, the total Native population of Winnipeg ranged between 20 000 and 30 000 persons.

The Native population of Winnipeg is recognized as a 'special needs' group facing conditions of extreme poverty. Statistics relating to the Indian population in the areas of health, education, employment, social assistance, and conflicts with the law, are so discouraging that this conclusion is inescapable. Conditions facing Manitoba's rural and northern Native population seem even more difficult. For example, water and sewage services in rural and remote areas of the province are inadequate. The general conditions affecting Indians have a bearing on the migration of Native people and relate directly to the present and future health needs of families and individuals.

We can project Winnipeg's future Native population on the assumption that recent trends will continue and, perhaps, even increase. If we assume that by 1985 Manitoba's Indian population will rise to a range of 54 000 to 62 000 persons, and that the urbanization trend will increase, given the high proportion of young people in the Indian population,[1] it is reasonable to expect the number of urban status Indians to reach a level of between 18 000 and 25 000 persons. Some estimates project that the entire increase in the status-Indian population will direct itself to urban areas, and that the reserve populations will remain constant or even decline. This would mean that Winnipeg's status-Indian population would increase by 20 000 persons by 1985, bringing the city's total status-Indian population to 30 000 persons by that year. The total urban Native population of Winnipeg could therefore reach somewhere between 60 000 and 90 000 persons, given the ratios referred to above of status Indians to other Native people.

Migration Patterns

Reasons for Migration

In Manitoba the shift of the general population to urban life has resulted in Winnipeg's having over 50 per cent of the total population of the province. A combination of factors causes the migration of Native people to the city from the reserve.[2] The *Indian-Métis Urban Probe*,[3] undertaken in Winnipeg in 1970, found that over 50 per cent of the respondents living in that city were under thirty years of age and had a comparatively better education than their counterparts on reserves. The principal reasons respondents gave for moving to the city were to obtain employment (43%) and to further their education (11%).

Initial Patterns of Location and Movement in Winnipeg

A migrant household's first location in a city and the frequency of its subsequent moves within that city have important implications for housing and social policies. Usually, the Native migrant has little choice of living quarters, for his low income often requires that he find the cheapest accommodation available. Older, substandard houses generally provide the least expensive shelter, and these housing units are found most often in the inner city. Furthermore, this type of lower-cost housing is more often subject to demolition or upgrading orders that force the inhabitants to move more frequently. Census data reflect the dependence of Native persons, as well as other poorer ethnic groups, on this supply of housing units. They show that the majority of Native persons live in the city's core area.[4]

A study made by the Manitoba Department of Education in 1976–1977[5] examined the mobility of children within Winnipeg School Division No. 1, an area contiguous with the old City of Winnipeg. The study did not discriminate between Native and non-Native 'movers', but did find, through a small number of follow-up interviews, that 78 per cent of those relocating were of Indian ancestry. Specifically, those families with a high mobility rate had the following characteristics:

- Fifty-six per cent of the households were status Indian.
- Forty-four per cent of the households were single-parent families headed by a female.
- The typical family consisted of three school-age children and one pre-schooler.
- The average length of stay of a family in one location was eight months.
- The most common reason for a family's moving was inadequate housing arrangements.

A subsequent study was conducted by a committee of School District No. 1 to follow up on the 1976–1977 results. Comparison of the two sets of data led the committee to conclude that:

- Norquay School is the major receiving school for Native migrants locating in Winnipeg.
- Native migrants' subsequent moves within Winnipeg are generally confined to the inner city.
- Between 1976 and 1977 there was a 9 per cent decrease in children leaving Norquay School for schools outside the city. This decrease suggested a growing tendency for migrants to remain in the city or within the Norquay School area.
- The study stressed that the availability of low-cost housing was the factor that chiefly determines where Native migrants will locate.
- The demolition of housing stock in School District No. 1 was considered the cause of student transfers to locations on the fringe of the city core and to the suburban areas of the city.

Living Conditions of Natives in Winnipeg

People working for Native service organizations provide most of the information available on living conditions of Natives in Winnipeg. This information has been supplemented by data from the *Indian-Métis Urban Probe*, now somewhat dated, and a more recent study of eighty-eight Native children living in Winnipeg and receiving ambulatory care at the Health Sciences Centre. The households of these children had the following characteristics:[6]

- Poverty: fifty-six of seventy-eight respondents had a monthly income of less than $500.
- Dependence on government transfer payments: forty-five of the eighty-seven mothers received welfare payments; only twenty-six of the forty-four fathers living in the households were employed.
- Comparatively large family size: the average family size was five persons per household.
- High density housing: despite the large family size, nearly half of the families lived in apartments where fifty-three of the seventy-eight households had two or fewer bedrooms. An average of 2.4 people shared a bedroom.

Because this sample was drawn from a particular subgroup of Natives living in Winnipeg, we can only speculate as to how well it represents the whole province's Native population. Comparison with the *Indian-Métis Urban Probe* suggests that the two surveys relate to different sub-groups. Nevertheless, both surveys clearly indicate that a segment of the Native population is at a disadvantage, reaffirming the current opinions of those people acquainted with Indian issues.

An unfortunate aspect of developing a description of Natives in particular need, is that this undertaking can lead to the stereotyping of all Natives in Winnipeg when, in fact, there are many Natives who have made a success of urban living. The diversity of Natives' abilities and needs, while not always recognized by mainstream society, is reflected by the Indian-Métis Friendship Centre (IMFC). That organization has classified its members into the following groups: educated and trained persons; semi-skilled and often seasonally employed persons; older people and welfare recipients; and transient medical patients.[7] The IMFC has noted that cultural conflicts may arise between second- and third-generation urban Natives and Native people newly arrived from the reserves.

From all this, the conclusion emerges that the deprivations suffered by Natives are not simply a result of lack of financial resources. Poor health, substandard housing, low levels of education, chronic unemployment, criminality with high rates of recidivism, and a dependence on government assistance are pervasive and closely interrelated factors that contribute to a culture of poverty. Because each element of the 'poverty chain' reinforces the debilitating effects of the other elements, attempts to resolve any one aspect of the poverty chain must, of necessity, deal with the whole complex problem. In this respect, the Native in Manitoba is caught in a cycle of deprivation common to cultural groups in many nations. But for the Native who migrates to the city, there are the additional problems of having to cope with a society whose attitudes and behaviour are markedly different from those on the reserve. In addition to coping with these attitudinal differences, the migrating Native must also develop the 'urban skills' necessary for survival in the city. People living on a rural reserve simply do not acquire the knowledge and skills that urban Canadians commonly take for granted. Using the public transit system, purchasing food in a supermarket, or locating accommodation can present insurmountable problems to Native people as these routines would to any other group with no experience in urban living.

Problems Facing Urban Native People

Health

The general poverty facing Indian people is probably most shockingly revealed in the disproportionate death rate among Indian children compared to non-Indian children and the continuing health problems through youth and adulthood that are the direct result of inadequate pre- and post-natal care and of poor nutrition. Analysis of the 1974 records of the Manitoba Health Services Commission (MHSC) showed that status Indians were twice as likely to be hospitalized as all other Manitobans.[8] This indication of the relatively poor health of Natives is supplemented by differences in rates and causes of death between status Indians and other Manitobans. Although statistics vary, depending on the age group examined, Natives generally have higher rates than non-Natives for most major causes of death. For instance, deaths from lower respiratory illnesses in infants from birth to four years were 8.8 times greater among Natives than among other Manitobans; and deaths from infections and parasitic diseases in the same age group were 6.0 times as great among Native as among non-Native Manitobans. Major causes of death for other age groups of Native people are lower respiratory infections and parasitic diseases, tuberculosis, motor-vehicle accidents, homicides and other external causes. It is unfortunate that most of these deaths are the result either of a destructive life-style or of lack of attention to public health and preventive care measures. It is equally unfortunate that many individuals suffer continuing difficulties throughout life as a result of poor infant health.

Commentators on Native-health problems in Winnipeg have observed recurring patterns of illness; they have specially remarked respiratory and gastro-intestinal illnesses, and skin, eye and middle-ear infections. However, the over-representation of Natives in hospitals, as shown by

MHSC records, may not be as serious in Winnipeg as it is in all of Manitoba; and there may be an under-representation of Natives in acute psychiatric wards. These facts can be interpreted to indicate that the major problems of adjustment among Native persons are primarily economic and not psychological. Alcohol and chemical abuse also figure prominently among the problems relating to Native health. In addition to the health problems that these sorts of abuse can create for consumers, the recent rise in congenital abnormalities of infants is thought to be related to the fetal alcohol-consumption syndrome.

Housing

A survey of housing conditions in Winnipeg, made by the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg in March of 1979, indicated that the city contained approximately twenty thousand dwelling units of poor quality. The Council defined 'poor housing' as accommodation with one or more of the following major deficiencies, along with some minor deficiencies, that indicate inadequate original construction and continued neglect.[9]

- Walls obviously out of plumb, building settled and seriously deteriorated
- Rotted, loose and missing building members
- Holes, open cracks, rotted, loose or missing materials over a considerable area
- Roof sagging, rotted, or of makeshift construction
- Rotted or sinking foundations
- Rotted or loose window frames
- Combination of three or more minor deficiencies.

The concentration of these poor-quality dwelling units (14 000 out of 20 000) is found in Winnipeg's inner city and primarily in its core area. We have seen, above, that the city's Native people are also concentrated in this area. It is not surprising, therefore, that Winnipeg's Native people are one of its most disadvantaged groups in terms of housing. This problem leads to and compounds other serious problems facing Native people. Poor housing inevitably results in continuous health problems and social and educational dislocations caused by frequent moves in search of better living conditions. Agencies that deal with the housing problems of Native people confirm that housing units in poor condition are over four times as likely to have severe crowding as units in good condition.[10] Over 6200 of Winnipeg's poor-quality units were estimated to be overcrowded.

Employment

Low income and lack of regular employment can increase and compound the stresses and strains characteristic of each stage of the life cycle. For example, low income and unemployment may be linked to problems such as alcoholism, drug abuse and crime. Winnipeg School Division No. 1 produced a study of inner-city schools in 1979 that provided shocking statistics relating to the level of unemployment within the inner-city area. The data was collected from a sample of approximately 25 per cent of the students in that Division. The study revealed that the average annual family income at three schools was under $6000; at a further seven schools, it was under $7000; at sixteen schools, it was under $8000; and at thirteen schools, it was under $9000. Therefore, at thirty-nine schools within Winnipeg's inner city, the average annual income of families was under $9000. At twenty-six schools, the average education of the parents was below the Grade-9 level. At thirty-three schools, the unemployment rate of the head of the family exceeded 12 per cent. In fact, the unemployment level for the head of the family in those schools ranged from a low of 12.0 per cent to a high of 55.8 per cent. At over half of these schools, more than 20 per cent of the heads of families were unemployed.

Although Native families were not singled out in the analysis, it is reasonable to assume, given the concentration of Native people within the inner city and the 'high-need' group that they represent, that the level of unemployment among the heads of Native families would be no lower than that revealed in the data collected by Winnipeg School Division No. 1.

Child Welfare

One complication affecting delivery of child-welfare services to status Indians is a continuing jurisdictional dispute between the provincial and federal governments. A report prepared by a tripartite committee, formed of representatives from the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (MIB) and the provincial and federal governments, identified this dispute as an issue that must be resolved. The committee called on the two levels of government to work with Indian people to "develop policies and provide resources to implement a unified service delivery system in the field of child, family and juvenile probation services."[11] The committee's concern about the lack of services to registered Indians in Manitoba pervaded all its deliberations. The data in its report indicated that there were an estimated 10 261 registered Indians living in Winnipeg in 1976; of this number, 5816 were children. Three hundred and seventy-one (or approximately 6%) of these children were reported to be under the supervision of child-care agencies. This figure represented 26 per cent of all status-Indian children in care in the Province of Manitoba.

Natives were found to constitute 37 per cent of the Winnipeg Children's Aid Society (WCAS) case-load in 1976; 3 per cent to 8 per cent of these cases involved families that had come to Winnipeg from northern reserves. The Native children concerned differed from non-Native children dealt with by the society in that families of the former group were larger than those of the latter (that is, they had an average of 5.8 children as compared with 3.1 children); in addition, the Native families were more often headed by a single parent than were the non-Native families (53% of the Native families as compared with 45% of the non-Native families). WCAS involvement with Native families occurred more often because of a family's lack of basic resources to provide adequate child care than was the case with non-Native families. Parental inability to control children was more common among Native than among non-Native families. In addition, cases relating to Native families were complicated more frequently by problems of health, finances and chemical abuse.

The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg has concluded, from investigating living conditions in the city, that low-income families with children, who live in overcrowded housing of poor quality, are prompted to make frequent moves. In turn, this frequent mobility disrupts the children's school attendance and leads to lower academic performance.

Social Problems

Statistics from many sources indicate that the Native people of Winnipeg represent a disadvantaged or 'high-need' group. These people are more likely to experience poverty and to live in poor housing than any other group in society. The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, concluded that:

> ...the household's native status, rather than being a cause of such high per capita consumption of services, is an indicator and symbol of the dominant society's failure to respond adequately to [its] needs.[12]

The 1971 census data revealed the dramatic concentration of urban status-Indian households. They were almost entirely confined to the inner city and, within the inner city, to the primary core area. This area contains the highest concentration of 'high-need' households as defined by the Social Planning Council. The Council's study indicates that there is an overlay, within the same areas, of one-parent families with young children, low-income households of unemployed persons, households composed of elderly persons, and Native households. It is the most disadvantaged members of each of these groups that are concentrated in Winnipeg's core area.[13]

Observers have often commented on the destructive effects that alcohol and chemical abuse can have on an individual's life and on the well-being of his or her family.[14] For the Native person, the problem can be particularly acute: 'binges' will absorb most of an already minimal income; criminal prosecutions are reported to be closely associated with alcohol and chemical abuse, especially among juveniles. Data drawn from records of the *Main Street Project*[15] indicate the severity of the problem. Native clients of the Alcohol Foundation of Manitoba were found to account for 60 to 80 per cent of the organization's entire case-load. Moreover the number of contacts made with intoxicated clients doubled within the 1976–77 period, while the number of sober clients remained stable. This increase is attributed to in-migration of Native people from the reserves.

Crime

Conflict with the law frequently results from the social and economic conditions that Indian people often experience. Reports on crime in Winnipeg indicate that Natives are overly represented in arrests. The Dubienski-Skelly Report[16] observed that Natives accounted for 53 per cent of the criminal arrests made in that city in 1969. In addition, the Indian offender appears to be imprisoned more frequently and to have a higher rate of recidivism. However, the crimes for which Natives are arrested tend to be less serious than those for which non-Natives are arrested. Sixty-three per cent of all charges reported against Natives were laid under the Intoxicated Persons Detention Act or the Liquor Act, and fewer Natives than non-Natives were arrested for violent crimes against persons or for crimes of property. This situation is reflected in incarceration rates, which show that Natives serve shorter average sentences than non-Natives, particularly for liquor- and vehicle-legislation violations. It should be noted that many Natives are sent to jail because they lack the means to pay fines.

The *Report*[17] of the Indian Child Welfare Committee indicates that in 1978, there were forty-six children from status-Indian families on probation in Winnipeg. This number amounted to 8.0 per cent of all status-Indian children on probation in Manitoba and, when supplemented by the number of Indian children in child-care services, represents a significant proportion of Indian children in Winnipeg in 1978. The figure indicates a child-care problem of shocking proportions.

Observations on Trends

Over the past ten to twelve years, there has been a definite trend towards urbanization among the Native people of Manitoba. This trend has not led to a solution of their problems. On the contrary, with many Native persons, it has led to an intensification of social problems and poverty in an urban environment, where their relative poverty is much more obvious than on a reserve. The move to the city has, more often than not, brought individuals and families into the core area of the city, where the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg has documented an overall increase in the evidence of 'high-need' households. The Council has also found that the concentration of unemployed persons has intensified in this area.[18] Statistics show that life in Winnipeg has not delivered the Indian person or family from the poverty entrapment in which they found themselves on the reserve. The core area of Winnipeg, in particular, represents an environment in which the Indian family becomes one of the most disadvantaged units within a disadvantaged group.

It is obvious that urbanization alone will not solve the poverty syndrome facing the Native people of Manitoba. Each level of government--federal, provincial and municipal--must involve itself in the process of urbanization of Native people in order that programs may be developed to assist Indian people to achieve a decent standard of living within an urban environment. In the material that follows, we shall examine the main programs available to Indian people and, wherever possible, assess their impact on those people in an urban environment.

Notes

1. At the time of writing, 60% of Canada's Native population was under twenty years of age.
2. These factors are outlined in the general introduction to this volume.
3. *The Indian-Métis Urban Probe*, the Indian Métis Friendship Centre and the Institute of Urban Studies, 1971.
4. *The Indian-Métis Urban Probe* found that 40% of the respondents first located in the centre of Winnipeg and 25% in the North End.
5. Evaluation, Research and Policy Analysis Branch, Department of Education, Province of Manitoba, "Migrancy Study Winnipeg School Division No. I; Elementary Schools" (Winnipeg: The Department, 1977).
6. J.C. Hawarth, J. Ellestad-Sayed and L.A. Dilling, "Nutrition Assessment of Preschool Indian Children Attending a Children's Clinic".
7. Indian Métis Friendship Centre, Migrating Native People Program (Winnipeg: The Centre, 1977).
8. "Manitoba's Health Services to Status Indians", in Intergovernmental Relations Sub-Committee of Cabinet. Provincial Government files.
9. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, *Housing Conditions in Winnipeg*, Report No. 1, p. 3, footnotes (Winnipeg: The Council, 1979).
10. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
11. Government of Manitoba, *Report of the Indian Child Welfare Sub-Committee* (Winnipeg, March 1980).

12. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, *An Analysis of Social Problems, Needs and Trends for Winnipeg* (Winnipeg: The Council, May 1980), p. 4.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
14. See for example, Donald E. Lange and Brent A. Schacter, *Prevalence of Alcohol-Related Admissions to General Medical Units* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, School of Medicine, 1977); and M. Pond, *A Progress Report to the United Way--The East Kildonan Project* (Winnipeg: Alcoholic Family Services Centre Inc., July 1976).
15. Dave Sherlock, *Main Street Project*, Report for the Alcohol Foundation of Manitoba (Winnipeg: The Foundation, 1977).
16. I. Dubienski and S. Skelly, "Analysis of arrests for the year 1969 in the City of Winnipeg, with particular reference to arrests of persons of Indian descent".
17. Government of Manitoba, *Report of the Indian Child Welfare Subcommittee* (Winnipeg, March, 1980).
18. The data collected for the study made by Winnipeg School Division No. 1 substantiates this finding. See p. 43, above.

2: Employment Training, Employment and Economic Development

The Problem

Finding adequate employment is one of the most serious problems facing the Native person migrating to or living in Winnipeg. 'Adequate employment' is defined as employment that provides a level of income sufficient to allow an individual and/or a family to enjoy a decent standard of living.

Many Native urban migrants lack formal education, vocational training, and/or experience of working in an industrial environment. These factors, combined with the consequent difficulty in finding adequate employment, often inspire Native people with a low opinion of themselves and their abilities. Since job opportunities for the unskilled and semi-skilled worker are in short supply in Winnipeg, the Native job seeker often becomes discouraged and eventually ceases to report to Canada Employment Centres and other placement agencies. As a result, unemployment within the Native community is much higher than the records show because many Native people are not registered in unemployment statistics.

Both provincial and federal governments have attempted to deal with the unemployment problem of Native people through a multiplicity of programs that provide for training and/or employment opportunities. Most of these programs, however, have been of short term and have dealt with the 'statistics' of unemployment rather than with the serious problems facing Native people. Some programs, for example, provide for loan financing for businesses, but fail to offer the essential support services required to assist potential Native entrepreneurs to prepare viable financial proposals and implement them during the development phase of a business undertaking. The result is that many Native businesses have failed before really becoming firmly established, and their failure has lent further discouragement to Native people through example. Programs offering short-term employment have tended to be isolated efforts made independently by the two levels of government, with very little co-ordination of design or program delivery. These programs, too, have tended to be very short lived, lasting anywhere from one season to a few years. Moreover, there has been little or no attempt to co-ordinate them with the longer-term programs designed to assist in job training and employment.

The very fact that short-term programs are required to integrate Native persons into the work-force indicates a failure of the longer-term programs delivered by government agencies to deal effectively with Native unemployment and employment-training needs. Native people and their advocates have made the case repeatedly to governments that programs are required to prepare people for urban life and the industrial work environment. To date only token efforts have been made to supply these needs. There have been some attempts to fund a few 'life-skills' courses organized by and for Native people. These have been isolated projects dealing with only a few people and falling far short of providing the kind of comprehensive programming that is obviously needed in view of the large number of Native migrants to Winnipeg and the unemployment problems they face.

The Programs

Table 2:1, below, provides an outline of eleven developmental funding programs. As the chart shows, these programs can be divided into several categories for further analysis.

Short-term job-creation programs like the Local Initiatives Program, Canada Works, and Young Canada Works, have tended to be *ad hoc* attempts to alleviate what governments generally hope are short-term periods of high unemployment. These programs are usually announced without warning and just as quickly terminated. They offer no opportunity for Native people or their advocates to plan properly for their best utilization. By the time that Native people have incorporated these funding sources into their forward planning, the programs are cut back or eliminated, and no ready replacement has been substituted.

Canada Works and Young Canada Works are classic examples of this train of events. They were terminated without warning by the federal government after operating for only a few years. Their termination left many Native groups cut off from a source of funding for much-needed employment projects. Other funding agencies of the same department, like the Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP), which were still operating at that time, were flooded with requests for short-term employment projects, although their real mandate did not lie in that area. Eventually LEAP was allowed to approve some short-term employment projects on a 'transitional' basis. Experience indicates, however, that these short-term programs do not deal adequately with the problem of Native unemployment.

Long-term job creation programs, like LEAP, provide a more useful tool to assist in developing Native enterprises. The impact of LEAP on the urban Native scene has not been very noticeable so far, but the program promises to be one that can provide the kind of funding and support services required for developing Native enterprises. With its emphasis on providing long-range funding and support services over a period of up to three years, LEAP should prove to be advantageous to Native people. This program provides the opportunity for planning and development that was not available under the short-term job-creation programs named above.

The Inner City Employment Program (ICEP) is an example of a similar program established by Manitoba's provincial government to provide job creation on both a short-term and a long-term basis. Unfortunately, this program, which was introduced in 1976 by the provincial government, has since been terminated because of a change in that government. ICEP was designed to focus on the chronic problems of unemployment identified in Winnipeg's inner core area. Since, as we have seen, Native people make up a large proportion of the population of that area, the program, by its very criteria of eligibility, was directed at this group. In fact, 52 per cent of those employed in ICEP-funded projects between 1976 and 1979 were persons of Native ancestry.

Two other provincial developmental funding programs, by their criteria of eligibility, provide benefits for Native people. The Work Activity Projects and the Critical Home Repair Program were designed to assist disadvantaged people with lower incomes. The programs, while they apply to Manitoba as a whole, are particularly useful in the inner core area of Winnipeg, where Native housing conditions are poor and the unemployment rate is high.

The two chief loan programs that might be useful to Native people living outside urban areas are the Indian Economic Development Fund (IEDF) and the Federal Business Development Bank (FBDB). Neither of these has been useful to any significant degree among Native people living in urban areas. The IEDF concentrates chiefly on projects on or near

Indian reserves. In the latest "Program Report" of the Manitoba Indian Affairs Region, there are no reported projects in the Winnipeg area funded through the IEDF.

The Canada Manpower Industrial Training Program (CMITP) was designed to provide subsidies for employers who either hire people to receive specific on-the-job training or provide significant training for employees already working. It is expected, in both situations, that the trainee will acquire skills that can be transferred to another job situation or used in the performance of work with the same company.

Table 2:1 charts the general characteristics of the types of developmental programs described above. It shows the way in which the various programs are administered, the criteria for elegibility of participants, the main organizational features of each program, the type of financial assistance available under each, and some examples of specific projects. While these programs all apply to Native people, they are not intended exclusively for Natives.

Table 2:1 Developmental Funding Programs Available to Urban Native People

Program	*Type of Program*	*Jurisdiction*	*Administration*	*Criteria of Eligibility*
Local Initiative Program (LIP)	Short-term job creation	Federal	Canada Employment & Immigration	Projects sponsored by municipalities, groups, individuals, providing minimum of 60 person-weeks of employment
Canada Works	Short-term job creation	Federal	Canada Employment & Immigration	Projects undertaken by non-profit or municipal agencies which employ people who are registered as unemployed
Young Canada Works	Short-term job creation			

Clientèle: Size, Main Characteristics	*Main Organizational Features*	*Financial Assistance*	*Examples of Projects*
All Manitoba, including Native groups providing community services	Groups apply for grant to cover wage costs.	Grant support up to maximum of $100 000. per project	Services for children, elderly or handicapped Community-improvement projects Construction or improvement of community facilities
Programs designed to provide benefits to the unemployed through short-term jobs. It is estimated that Native people have been using approximately 9% of federal employment funds.	Applications vetted by approval committees appointed by M.P. Projects monitored by Canada Employment Centres	Grant funds provided to cover the labour costs of projects	Community-service projects like:[a] • Native Family Life Counselling Program • Community Income Tax Service • Community Consumer Credit Counselling

Program	*Type of Program*	*Jurisdiction*	*Administration*	*Criteria of Eligibility*
Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP)	Short & long-term job creation	Federal	Canada Employment Job Creation Branch	Projects that create employment opportunities for 'difficult to employ' individuals. Emphases on long-range employment through projects which become independent
Inner City Employment Program (ICEP)	Short & long-term job creation	Provincial	Provincial Job Office	Projects sponsored by private or public groups: • All those having economic development input with possible long-term viability. • All those of

Clientèle: Size, Main Characteristics	*Main Organizational Features*	*Financial Assistance*	*Examples of Projects*
Special emphasis on special employment individuals: • handicapped • ex-convicts • Natives • women	Non-profit organizations, community & citizens' groups, voluntary agencies. Individuals may apply and develop proposals in conjunction with LEAP officers.	Grants of not more than $250 000 annually. Projects may be funded for up to 3 years.	Toy-manufacturing business employing ex-convicts Type-setting business employing handicapped Insulation-manufacturing business employing Native people
Chronically unemployed persons residing in the inner-city core area of Winnipeg: • Persons on social assistance • Single-parent family heads	In 1976 $3 M was approved for this program. By 1979, $1.5 M had been committed. Funds were administered by small staff at Provincial Job Office.	Funds are provided in the form of grants and/or receivable to organizations, non-profit agencies, groups of individuals, provincial	During the period 1976-79, 20 projects were funded; 13 continued to operate, after original funding ceased, through funding from other sources on their own reserves. ICEP-project employees are:

Program	*Type of Program*	*Jurisdiction*	*Administration*	*Criteria of Eligibility*
				socially useful nature serving • All those of a training nature if designed for needs of target group.
Work Activity Projects (WAP)	Short-term & Job training	Provincial/ Federal	Department of Health & Social Development (Manitoba)	Interested citizens, groups, local organizations, local elected councils can sponsor a project funded by WAP.

Clientèle: Size, Main Characteristics	*Main Organizational Features*	*Financial Assistance*	*Examples of Projects*
• Native people [b] • Youths 16-24 • Persons over 45 • Ex-prisoners with alcohol or mental problems • Handicapped persons	Applications were processed through a small subcommittee of the Cabinet to ensure that eligibility criteria were maintained.	government departments, City of Winnipeg or Winnipeg School Division No. 1.	• 52% Native • 30% single parents • 99.6% unemployed prior to initiation of projects • 53% social assistance recipients.
Those who have difficulty in obtaining jobs through life-skills and vocational training programs [c]	Eligible groups make application to Department of Health. If application is approved, Department provides financial & technical assistance.	Total costs of project are covered by grant from HSD co-funded by federal government through CAP.	WHIP (Winnipeg Home Improvement Projects) teaches building skills to program participants through the actual up-grading of low-income housing. Pioneers Services Centre: involved in life skills & all aspects of restaurant operation; allows for training in food-service industry

Program	*Type of Program*	*Jurisdiction*	*Administration*	*Criteria of Eligibility*
Canada Manpower Industrial Training Program (CMITP)	Long-term job creation & industrial training	Federal	Department of Canada Manpower	Employers: • Private (non-govt.) employers • Crown Corporations financed by service fees • Provincial or Federal agencies training clients with special needs Trainees: • One year beyond school-leaving age • Employee of the contracting employer • Likely to benefit in increased employability and/or earning capacity.

Clientèle: Size, Main Characteristics	*Main Organizational Features*	*Financial Assistance*	*Examples of Projects*
Emphasis on the training of clients who have unusual employment barriers	Employers are responsible for making application. Department assists in developing, initiating & improving training program for employers who are either increasing the work-force or significantly increasing their level of skills.	Training program covers 100% of instructor's salary, expenses, training aids, rental of equipment & training premises. It also covers 40-85% of trainees' wages, depending on status of trainees.	Native Family Life Training for Native counsellors Industrial on-the-job training for Native persons

Program	*Type of Program*	*Jurisdiction*	*Administration*	*Criteria of Eligibility*
Critical Home Repairs Program (CHRP)	Short-term job creation	Provincial	Manitoba Housing & Renewal Corporation[d]	Projects to improve housing conditions of eligible persons
Federal Business Development Bank (FBDB)	Business Development	Federal	FBDB Established by Act of Parliament (1975)	New or existing business, especially small business. Loans must be serviced by mortgage or debenture.

Clientèle: Size, Main Characteristics	*Main Organizational Features*	*Financial Assistance*	*Examples of Projects*
• Home owners with annual incomes of up to $11 000 • Pensioners on O.A.S. • Infirm & disabled persons on Social Allowance	Individuals apply for loans & grants to make critical repairs to their homes. Emphasis is on employing unemployed construction workers in repair work.	Loans (part of repayment forgiven in most cases) and direct grants	Examples of critical conditions: • unsafe wiring • defective heating systems • unsafe water • broken stairs • inadequate sewage • leaking roofs • lack of insulation • windows in disrepair • foundation in disrepair • walls unsound
Any type of economically viable business enterprise	Applicant must make professional proposal to FBDB, including financial projections & indications of viability.	Loans, loan guarantees, equity financing or leasing or combination. Most loans amount to less than $100 000.	

Program	*Type of Program*	*Jurisdiction*	*Administration*	*Criteria of Eligibility*
Indian Economic Development Fund	Funding for business development	Federal	Federal Department of Indian Affairs	Proposed enterprises must show viability, competent management, and ability to repay a loan.

Clientèle: Size, Main Characteristics	*Main Organizational Features*	*Financial Assistance*	*Examples of Projects*
Any registered Indian & anyone who can contribute to economic development of Indians Project designed to meet the specific problems encountered by Indian people: i.e., restrictions imposed by Indian Act, lack of equity, a credibility gap which exists between many conventional lending institutions and Indian people	Loans & loan guarantees are approved by the Department if applicants meet criteria. The Department monitors and provides management advice to project as required.	Loans are for fixed assets & working capital on Manitoba's lending terms. Minister has authority to approve loans of up to $500 000. Larger loans require Treasury Board approval. Grants may be available to meet basic needs, such as infrastructure planning, support services, start-up costs, and	Virtually all emphasis is on on-reserve or rural projects near reserves. In 1977-78 program report of DIAND, no projects are reported for the City of Winnipeg.

Program	*Type of Program*	*Jurisdiction*	*Administration*	*Criteria of Eligibility*
Citizenship Branch	Developmental Funding	Federal	Department of Secretary of State Citizenship Branch	Non-profit citizens' organizations, promoting fuller participation of disadvantaged Canadians

Notes

a. Very few capital projects could be attempted because funds could not be used to provide capital.

b. Approximately 57% of those actually employed from 1976 to 1979 were Native persons.

Clientèle: Size, Main Characteristics	*Main Organizational Features*	*Financial Assistance*	*Examples of Projects*
		other needs if the applicant can show a favourable benefit/cost relationship.	
Non-profit citizen's organizations, including Native organizations, which require funds to assist in cultural and educational projects	Applications of disadvantaged & low-income groups receive priority.	Funding by grant is available to cover some capital costs, including core funding to cover costs of staff and expenses of eligible organizations.	• Native youth & women's groups • Cultural & Education Centres • Core funding for Friendship Centres

c. Participants may have personal or social problems or lack opportunities for employment.

d. A Provincial Crown Corporation.

The Native Participants

In order to assess the relative impact of these programs, a number of actual projects were examined with special attention to the sources of funding for each. The projects outlined in Table 2:2, below, are projects that were operating in Winnipeg from 1976 to 1979. They received funding from various sources to enable them to provide employment for people working for the project and/or to deliver a service that was considered socially desirable. The proportion of Native persons involved in these projects ranged anywhere from a low of 11 per cent to a high of

Table 2:2 Project Information

Name of Project	*Description*	*Native Persons Employed (No.)*
Winnipeg Core Employment Project, Department of Health & Social Development	The project provides skill training and work experience in areas that are of benefit to the community, for social assistance recipients, primarily those receiving Mother's Allowances. These areas are: carpentry, office procedures and bookkeeping, food service, furniture upholstering, store operation, and day care. In addition to the trainees, the project employs contract persons responsible for coun-	26

100 per cent. Depending of the nature of the projects, these persons were either participants (employees) or trainees. The objectives of the projects examined were usually to provide both training and employment for disadvantaged persons and a useful service, of a social, economic or recreational nature, to the community. Some of these projects were expected to become self-supporting enterprises: for example, Banbury Cross Toys, Wapiti Inc. Amisk Ltd., and PINT. The others depended on continuing government funding.

Native Persons Trained (%)	*Sources of Funding*	*Long-Term Viability*
45%	ICEP (Prov.):[a] $193 713 Labour: $149 224 (77%) Material: $44 489 (23%)	No. 1. The project provides assistance recipients with marketable job skills, work experience, and employability skills in order that they may compete more effectively in the labour market. 2. The project provides welfare recipients, senior citizens, and low-income persons with inexpensive re-upholstered furniture, carpentry work, and a food

Name of Project	*Description*	*Native Persons Employed (No.)*
	selling, assessment, worker preparation and training.	
Project for Industrial Native Training (PINT)—Weathercheck	An operation that manufactures and markets cellulose-fibre insulation	28

Native Persons Trained (%)	*Sources of Funding*	*Long-Term Viability*
	Canada Assistance Plan (CAP).	service. Non-profit organizations and day-care centres benefit from the provision of clerical assistance and child-care workers.
100%	ICEP (Prov.): $190 700 Labour: $76 280 (40%) Material: $114 420 (60%) LEAP (Federal): $200 000 Revenue generated (to 31 March 1978): $51 242 Total: $251 242.	Yes. The project shows potential for economic viability and employs members of the target population.

Name of Project	*Description*	*Native Persons Employed (No.)*
Rossbrook House Inc.	Rossbrook House is an alternative home and drop-in centre for delinquent and pre-delinquent youth. Various recreational, educational, and personal development activities are provided, in addition to liaison with agencies such as Child Guidance Clinic and Probation Services.	3
Amisk Ltd.	A demolition, renovation and repair crew working primarily on the housing units purchased by Kinew Housing. Kinew is a non-profit corporation established to provide housing to Native families in Winnipeg.	25

Native Persons Trained (%)	*Sources of Funding*	*Long-Term Viability*
50%	ICEP (Prov.): $13 140 [b] Labour: Nil (0%) Material: $13 140 (100%)	No. 1. The project provides 6 persons with marketable job skills, work experience and employability skills by means of the New Careers Program. 2. The project assists Rossbrook House to provide the materials necessary for the New Careers trainees to meet the requirements of their training.
100%	ICEP (Prov.): $30 000 Labour: $30 000 (100%) Material: Nil (0%) Amisk Ltd.: $150 000	Yes. The Company is viable; assistance generates additional jobs for Native persons in the inner City of Winnipeg.

Name of Project	*Description*	*Native Persons Employed (No.)*
Logan Heights Renovators Inc.	A decorating and painting crew operating in the Winnipeg area	2
Wapiti, Inc.	A group of Native persons engaged in the manufacture and marketing of knitted articles	6

Native Persons Trained (%)	*Sources of Funding*	*Long-Term Viability*
25%	ICEP (Prov.): [c] $64 658 Labour: $58 758 (90.9%) Material: $5 900 Revenue generated (project equipment): $1 500 Total: $13 500	Yes. 1. Project has potential and employs members of the target population. 2. Employees gain valuable skills and experience.
100%	ICEP (Prov.): $56 000 Labour: $44 000 (78.4%) Material: $12 100 (21.6%) Revenue generated to date: $1 548	Yes. Members of the target population would be involved in a project with potential for economic viability.

Name of Project	*Description*	*Native Persons Employed (No.)*
Bright Horizons Wood Works	A wood-working shop that produces and markets stereo speakers and stands, kitchen cupboards, desks, shelves and other household furniture	2
Green Band Drop-In Centre, Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba	The project operates a drop-in centre for recovering alcoholics leaving the Chemical Withdrawal Unit of the Health Sciences Centre.[d]	2

Native Persons Trained (%)	*Sources of Funding*	*Long-Term Viability*
67%	ICEP (Prov.): $46 313 Labour: $38 117 (82.3%) Material: $8 196 (17.7%) Revenue generated: $20 000 Project (equipment): $200 Total: $20 200	Yes. 1. A potentially viable project for members of the target population 2. Employees gain valuable work skills and experience.
50%	ICEP (Prov.): $41 000 Labour: $32 840 (80%) Material: $8 160 (20%) Health Sciences Centre: $2 200	No. 1. No other funding was available for a useful social service. 2. Without the Centre, many recovering alcoholics would return to their old environment and old drinking habits.

Name of Project	*Description*	*Native Persons Employed (No.)*
Services to Hospitalized Native Adults, Health Sciences Centre Hospital	The project acts as a liaison between Native patients and hospital staff. Translation services are provided as well as practical assistance for patients entering, remaining in, and leaving the hospital.	4
Native Family Life Counselling Program Inc.	This program is designed to train Native persons as family counsellors.	15

Native Persons Trained (%)	*Sources of Funding*	*Long-Term Viability*
100%	ICEP (Prov.): $30 800 Labour: $28 800 (93%) Material: $2 000 (7%) Health Sciences Centre:[e] $5 500	Yes. 1. Project has potential for ongoing funding from Health Sciences Centre. (Approved in principle; included in budget.) 2. No other funding was available for a socially useful service.
100%	ICEP (Prov.): $42 000 Labour: $21 000 (50%) Material: $21 000 (50%) Canada Empl. & Immigration Comm. (Federal) $132 785	No. 1. Requested by the Dept. of Continuing Education and Manpower, Special Projects Branch 2. Trained Native family counsellors could deal more effectively with the large Native population in the inner city requiring social services.

Name of Project	*Description*	*Native Persons Employed (No.)*
Banbury Cross Ageless Toys Inc.	Manufactures and markets wooden toys. ICEP funds were provided for the development phase only. LEAP funds are in place for Year I of the operational phase.	1

Native Persons Trained (%)	*Sources of Funding*	*Long-Term Viability*
	Dept. of C.E.M.: $13 166 Total: $145 951	
11%	ICEP (Prov.): $37 675 Labour: $29 657 (78.8%) Material: $8 000 (21.2%) Bank loan: $5 000 Project (equipment): $1 291 Generated: $9 980 LEAP (Federal): $156 780 Total: $173 051	Yes. 1. The project shows poten- for economic viability and involves members of the target population. 2. Employees learn useful job skills and gain valuable work experience.

Name of Project	*Description*	*Native Persons Employed (No.)*
Lord Roberts Lunch and After-Four Program (Project duration: 12 months)	Provision of a lunch and after-four supervision for school-age children of working parents in the Lord Roberts area	1
Community Income Tax Service	Assists primarily low-wage earners in the preparation of income-tax returns	1

Native Persons Trained (%)	*Sources of Funding*	*Long-Term Viability*
33%	ICEP (Prov.): $13 303 Labour: $13 303 (100%) Material: Nil (0%) Agency Relations Br. Dept. of H & S D: [f] $10 180 User Fees: $10 400 Total: $20 580	No. No other funding was available for a useful social service.
25%	ICEP (Prov.): $3 280 Labour $3 280 (100%) Material: Nil (0%) LIP (Federal for 6 additional weeks).	No. 1. No other funding was available for a useful social service. 2. Funding was required for an additional 6 weeks to cover a peak period.

Name of Project	*Description*	*Native Persons Employed (No.)*
Community Service Workers Project--City of Winnipeg Welfare Dept.	Provides skill training and work experience in the areas of janitorial duties, care-taking and supervisory responsibilities, minor repairs and painting, and responsibility for issuing and receiving recreational equipment for community centres in the City of Winnipeg; employs 33 municipal welfare recipients	13
Broadway Senior Citizen Services Inc.	Provides a transportation and handyman service to senior citizens in the area	2

Native Persons Trained (%)	*Sources of Funding*	*Long-Term Viability*
40%	ICEP (Prov.): $165 800 Labour: $165 800 (100%) Material: Nil (0%) City of Winnipeg: $165 800	No. 1. To provide municipal welfare recipients with marketable job skills, work experience and employability skills in order that they may compete more effectively in the labour market 2. To provide community with a valuable service which would otherwise not be available
40%	ICEP (Prov.):9 $5 368 Labour $5 368 (100%) Material: Nil (0%)	No. 1. Requested by the Ministry of Corrections 2. Interim funding required only until funding for the winter months was in place

Notes

a. $53 180 approved, including $39 600 New Careers Program (Department of Continuing Education and Manpower).

b. $400 000 was approved for a 12-month period, 50/50 cost-shared with federal government under the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP).

c. This project in the past had received funding from LEAP & LIP.

d. Rental of premises waived & coffee supplies provided.

e. Rental of premises waived and co-ordinator provided.

f. Approval was given for second- and third-year funding of $165 800 in each year.

g. $7000 approved.

Even though a majority of the people who were involved in these projects were Native persons, the Department of Indian Affairs provided *no* funding assistance. Other federal government agencies, however, were involved; for example, Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), LEAP, and Canada Employment and Immigration Centres (CEIC). They provided significant levels of funding to at least six of these projects. Where these federal agencies were involved, the level of funding relative to other sources of funding ranged from 50 per cent upward. The provincial government, chiefly through the ICEP, participated in all of the projects examined. The provincial level of funding relative to other sources ranged from 50 per cent to 100 per cent. (The latter figure applied where more than one provincial program was involved.) The projects, in some instances, provided limited financing from their own revenues. In the Community Service Workers Project, the City of Winnipeg shared costs with the provincial government of employing municipal welfare recipients.

From this sample of projects employing or training Native people, it can be determined that the federal government appears to be pursuing a policy of shifting responsibility for Native people from the Department of

Indian Affairs either to other federal government departments or to provincial governments. In some of these projects, the Native sponsors and/or participants had to rely entirely on the provincial government for funding.

Overall Trends

Federal and provincial governments have attempted to address the general problem of unemployment, but have made little effort to direct programs to specific groups, such as urban Natives. Most federal programs have veered towards the 'macro' in their objectives and their application. The provincial programs, such as the ICEP program, have attempted to focus more on geographic problem areas like the inner city of Winnipeg. Winnipeg's municipal government has been almost totally inactive, except that it has participated in one cost-sharing program with Manitoba's provincial government, to employ welfare recipients. The city has, however, utilized the provincial and federal 'winter-works' type of program which provided subsidy funding for wage costs on municipal projects that offer work to the unemployed or to welfare recipients.

The Manitoba government, in a policy statement issued in 1973, indicated its desire to provide employment opportunities to those receiving social assistance:[1]

> Manitoba's Manpower policy, based on a participation model, will provide for the fulfilment of the reciprocal responsibility of the able-bodied individual receiving assistance from the state by ensuring a variety of employment opportunities, thereby maximizing individual freedom and choice.

Other provincial policy statements, too, show that Manitoba's manpower policy, the creation of socially useful work, was a prime objective. Various employment programs were initiated. The ICEP was a direct result of this policy's implementation. Between 1969 and 1977, the provincial government operated on the theory that training, apprenticeship and job development would provide opportunities for the disadvantaged to move from job-creation programs into the mainstream of the labour force.

The City of Winnipeg did not adopt formal policies in the area of employment. The City Council, however, did express its support for the involvement of other levels of government in alleviating core-area problems.

The federal government introduced various programs aimed at reducing the general unemployment rate. Its programs were specific in that they were directed at sectors where unemployment statistics indicated the most glaring problems. The Local Initiatives Program, Canada Works, Young Canada Works, and Opportunities for Youth (OFY) were introduced by the federal government to provide work for the unemployed of specific areas or age levels. These programs have recently been restrained, through budget cut-backs, at both federal and provincial levels of government. Since 1977 the Government of Manitoba has revised its policy to the extent that it gives priority to the creation of jobs in the private sector. This focus relieves the provincial government of any active job-creation role. The funding of the ICEP, for example, has recently been reduced from three million to approximately one hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars. This money is directed to the cost-sharing project with the City of Winnipeg for hiring welfare recipients. The federal government has terminated LIP, Canada Works, Young Canada Works, OFY and other job-creation programs. It appears that the federal LEAP is the only program of any significance still operating that serves the needs of urban Native people, although it is not directed exclusively to Natives.

Emerging Trends

Various groups of Native people and their advocates have protested the cut-back of employment-generating programs. The Manitoba Conference of the United Church of Canada, in a brief to the Cabinet of the Government of Manitoba, deplored the unemployment situation facing Native people living in or coming into Winnipeg. The Conference recommended that "the Provincial Job Office take on as a major priority, the needs of the unemployed native people."[2] It also called on the government to fund life-skills programs that would prepare people for employment and for job-creation programs, and to fund small-business development in the Winnipeg Native community.

The Winnipeg Committee for Work not Welfare presented a brief to the Minister of Employment and Immigration, asking that a job-creation program be re-introduced without delay.[3] This group, which represents the inner-city unemployed and their families, had been holding meetings and interviews since October 1979. Its brief suggested that job-creation programs are necessary in order to:

1) provide employment in Manitoba, especially in Winnipeg's inner-city and the north end where unemployment is very high
2) give employees hired under the program, an opportunity to gain training and experience, so that they become employable outside the job creation program
3) provide community based organizations with the needed manpower to carry on important services and programs
4) provide the unemployed with stable employment, a sense of self-worth, family stability and the dignity of a job to replace their dependence on social assistance.[4]

The Committee obviously recognizes the importance of such programs, not only to create jobs, but also to provide experience and encourage family stability for the participants. Not the least of the 'spin-off' benefits is the provision of manpower for important community services.

The Committee further recommended that such programs should allow projects to be approved for three- to five-year terms, that the areas of highest unemployment be given priority, and that the programs look towards the social services sector of the economy as a vehicle for sponsorship, and not rely simply on the private sector to create jobs on the basis of government subsidies.

It is obvious that the areas of job creation and employment training are among the most neglected by all levels of government. The programs of these sorts, offered to date, have been inadequate both in terms of their duration and of the level of financial commitment by governments. Long-range comprehensive programs to create employment opportunities must be planned, along with programs to improve the general socio-economic conditions of the people who most require them. Clearly the Native people living in the inner-core area of Winnipeg are some of those in greatest need.

Notes

1. Province of Manitoba, *Guidelines for the Seventies*, Vol. I (Winnipeg, 1973), p. 57.
2. United Church of Canada, Manitoba Conference, *Presentation to Premier and Ministers of the Government of Manitoba*, Winnipeg, 1980.
3. Draft presentation to the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Employment and Immigration, by the Committee for Work not Welfare, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1980.
4. Brief by Committee for Work not Welfare.

3: Education

Elementary and Secondary Education

The Student Population

Of the 15 200 status Indians attending elementary and secondary schools in Manitoba in 1975, 6000 attended schools operated by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), and 9200 were registered in schools within the provincial system. (See Table 3:1, below.) The expenses of 3800 of the students attending schools within the provincial school system were billed to DIAND under the Master Tuition Agreement (MTA). DIAND thus retained a large measure of fiscal responsibility for this group. Another 3200 Native students in the provincial system have, in effect, lost their status through living off the reserve--most of them in Winnipeg--for more than one year. Twelve hundred were migrants who were partially counted for billing to DIAND, and 1000 had status and were eligible for DIAND recovery, but had not been identified by the school divisions and districts. It is suspected that most members of these last two groups lived in Winnipeg. In all, it was

Table 3:1 Status-Indian Students in Manitoba (1975) [a]

Category	*Federal Schools*	*Provincial Schools*
On Reserve	6 000	3 300
Off Reserve, covered in MTA: billed		500 [a]
Off Reserve, covered in MTA: not billed		1 000
Migratory		1 200[b]
Not covered in MTA		3 200
	6 000	9 200[c]

Notes

a. Government of Manitoba files.

b. There are about 4000 off-reserve students attending schools in Winnipeg.

c. Migratory students spend 15% of their time in DIAND schools; 15% of the time they are billed under the MTA, and 70% of the time they are not identified.

estimated that over 4000 status-Indian students were attending Winnipeg schools. In other words, over 25 per cent of Manitoba's status-Indian students were probably attending schools in one major urban centre of that province.

Program Description

The program follows the standard provision for Grades K-12 education, but certain special problems and features are evident in the segment serving Natives. Generally, educational options are lacking in northern schools. Canada's low rate of Native children achieving Grade-12 graduation has been documented. It stands at 10 per cent compared with 90 per cent for the typical, Euro-Canadian, middle-class student. This ratio applies equally to Manitoba. Drop-outs or 'push-outs' (since the system has not accommodated them) begin to leave the school system at the age of twelve or earlier, and few Native students continue in the system past the age of sixteen.

A Native Education Branch has recently been established in the Manitoba Department of Education. It is responsible for a variety of tasks, including the development of relevant curricula and Native-language programs at early elementary and higher levels, and for community participation in education. This innovation represents a modest beginning in the development of relevant educational tools. A program for hiring Native paraprofessionals to assist in translation, community liaison and other tasks is already in effect in rural and northern areas of Manitoba.

The trend towards urbanization of Native people resulted in an urban population estimated to range from 20 000 to 30 000 people in 1976; this estimate included non-status Indians and Métis. By 1982 this figure had reached a total of more than 60 000 persons The estimated school population represented up to 50 per cent of this figure. In 1976 it was estimated that a minimum of 10 000 status and non-status-Indian and

Métis students were attending Winnipeg schools, and it was expected that this number would double every five years. The educational programs provided by provincial, federal and local education authorities do not respond adequately to the special needs of this group. The federal government's response has been to withdraw financial support from status Indians after they have lived one year in an urban centre. The provincial government provides the regular, per capita, grant assistance to school boards, in accordance with the arrangements with all school divisions in Manitoba.

The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, with an enrolment of approximately twenty thousand students, serves the inner city, particularly the core area, where surveys show that the majority of Manitoba's urban Indians live. Studies of the socio-economic problems of this area demonstrate that rates of child neglect, mental illness, illegitimacy, alcoholism and crime are extremely high. With their limited resources, the schools in this area have introduced remedial measures designed to meet the special educational needs of inner-city children. All children who live in the areas serviced by these programs are eligible to enter them. Nursery classes exist in all forty-two inner-city elementary schools to help young children become oriented to the provincial education system. A School Nutrition Program has been introduced to serve breakfast and lunch to students in twenty-two inner-city elementary schools. School Division No. 1 employs three full-time community-liaison officers, one of whom is available on an 'on call' basis to all schools in the Division. The other two are employed in two specific areas of the Division: one officer services three schools and the other, two schools. These workers try to increase the community's level of involvement in its schools.

To provide specific support programs for Native people, Winnipeg's School Division employs twelve Native teacher's aides, eight Native teachers, and two Native community-liaison officers. Little has been done, however, to recognize and provide for the cultural and language needs of the Division's Native students. In 1980 the Winnipeg School Board asked Manitoba's Minister of Education to "permit a bilingual project in which Indian children would learn some subjects in their native languages." The provincial government gave no clear indication that it would accede to the Board's request. The whole urban educational program is far from adequate, given the number of Native students it serves and the special problems they face in an urban environment. A total of twenty-two Native staff members for approximately 10 000 (status and non-status) Native students represents a ratio of one Native staff member to approximately five hundred Native students.

Even the most ambitious educational program would be likely to fail, however, if the deep-rooted problems of poverty that urban Native people face are not dealt with by means of comprehensive government programs. Moreover, the most comprehensive programs involving in-school efforts will not suffice to eliminate the many forms of disadvantage and inequality of opportunity that Native children experience. An unpublished study made by the Manitoba Department of Education found that the following factors contributed to the non-achievement of children:

- Low family income
- Low parental level of education
- Dependency of family on public assistance
- High population density
- High rate of mobility
- Absence of one or both parents
- Change of parents.

The inner-city schools administered by the Winnipeg School Division claim that the area they serve has the following general characteristics:

- A 10 per cent or higher rate of unemployment
- A 45 per cent or higher rate of parents whose level of education is below Grade 9
- A median family income 20 per cent or more below the average family income for Winnipeg
- A 10 per cent or higher rate of single- (female) parent families
- Twenty per cent or more of school-age children living in public-supported housing
- A 35 per cent or higher rate of student turnover.

Using these facts as criteria, Winnipeg School Division No. 1 has identified twenty-one core-area schools that displayed three or more of the characteristics listed above. The Division claims that these characteristics can be used to predict the academic functioning of its students. In 1976-77 Manitoba's Department of Education conducted a survey of mathematical skills in Grade-5 classes throughout Winnipeg, using the "Canadian Test of Basic Skills". Table 3:2 shows the results obtained.

Table 3:2 Mathematical Skills (Grade 5) in Winnipeg Schools

Types of School	*Average Scores* %
Core schools, WSD No. 1	54.6
Fringe Schools, WSD No. 1	58.2
Other Schools, WSD No. 1	67.4
All schools in Winnipeg	64.9
Winnipeg Division No. 1	60.0

Other detailed academic testing carried out at three core schools suggests that their students have serious problems relating to academic development. Generally, it was found, students began Grade 1 in a deficit situation, and fell further behind as they progressed through successive grades, establishing a cumulative deficit. The students were weakest in listening skills, and their most striking drop in academic skills occurred at the Grade-3 level. This study also found that the students' self-concepts declined after they completed Grade 2.

This data indicates that the poverty situation facing urban Native people could become a self-perpetuating problem. The children suffer from difficulties in the school system as a result of their families' socio-economic situation. Because they achieve only a low level of education, they are likely to continue in a similar poverty situation. This problem can be only partially solved through the formal education system. Comprehensive programs must be developed by appropriate government agencies to deal with the socio-economic situations of the family unit and the community if any success is to be achieved in assisting people to escape the difficulties they face.

Administrative Arrangements for Enlarging Native Responsibility

Administrative arrangments allow for little in the way of Native participation in, or control of, educational programs. Most federal schools are centrally administered by DIAND. Nearly two thousand of those students attending school in the provincial system are in schools administered directly by the Manitoba Department of Education (Frontier School District, Stedman, Hillridge). The remaining 7200 students attend schools in districts or divisions administered by elected school boards. Very infrequently is there any Native representation on those boards.

The provincial Department of Education bears overall responsibility for all off-reserve schools. It provides administrative and support services. It also provides grants under a foundation program covering from 60 per cent to 80 per cent of operating costs and 100 per cent of most capital costs. The balance of the necessary funds is raised by various school districts and divisions through local property taxes. Under the Master Tuition Agreement (MTA),[1] the residual cost[2] of eligible Native students is remitted to the appropriate school authorities. There are exceptions to these arrangements. For example, Fort Alexander, Peguis and Sandy Bay Reserves run their own school systems, which are funded by DIAND. The Pas Reserve has opted out of the Master Tuition Agreement and negotiates the conditions of attendance of its children with Kelsey School Division of The Pas. DIAND provides funding to the band, which is then used to compensate Kelsey School District.

Agreements in Effect

Master Tuition Agreement

This agreement covers *pro rata* operating costs of provincial schools for status Indians in attendance. Under the MTA, DIAND pays a provincial average operating cost. In 1975 this payment was $1 036.60 per pupil for eligible Natives identified as attending provincial schools. DIAND considers 'eligible' all status Indians living on reserves and those status Indians living off reserves who have not established permanent off-reserve residence. While DIAND has the final decision in determining eligibility, there is a problem in identifying eligible children in the provincial school system. This identification is left to the various school divisions, but they are frequently reluctant to implement procedures that would label children according to their racial origin. In urban areas, therefore, when the permanent residence of the eligible Native child is on a reserve, or when such a child is migrant, he is not usually identified for cost reimbursement under the MTA. For each eligible child identified, a monthly attendance record is kept, and this record forms the basis for DIAND's payments to the province. The province, in turn, pays the school divisions their residual operating cost, as well as making regular grants, on the basis of the monthly attendance record, for each child identified as eligible.

School Building Agreements

Where a significant percentage of a school's population is eligible for grants and payments under the MTA, school divisions and districts may negotiate with DIAND for payment of a portion of the cost of capital projects relating to school buildings. Note that these agreements are struck between DIAND and local school authorities, rather than the province. Here again, because many eligible students attending urban schools are not identified, the urban school divisions do not benefit from this program.

Native Paraprofessional Agreement

Under the terms of this agreement, a committee composed of DIAND staff members, Department of Education personnel, and Native representatives may recommend the hiring of Native paraprofessional staff in provincial schools. The cost of hiring approved paraprofessionals is split between DIAND, which pays 65 per cent, and the Manitoba Department of Education, which pays 35 per cent. In the Winnipeg School Division, however, where the majority of the province's urban Indian students attend school, this program is not operative either because the students are not formally identified as status Indians, or because they have been residents for more than one year. In fact, the federal government provides no support for teacher's aides in Winnipeg School District No. 1.

A Fiscal Analysis

DIAND Schools

One hundred per cent of the costs for DIAND schools is covered by the

Department itself. Some provincial support may be paid through the Department of Education for Native students attending federal schools, but the amounts so paid are negligible. The operating costs of DIAND schools in 1975 amounted to $10 500 000 or $1750 per pupil. Moreover, DIAND spent an additional $7 000 000, mainly in rural and northern areas, on schools' capital projects, transportation, residences and allowances.

Provincial Schools

School-division costs. In 1975 the Master Tuition Agreement completely covered 3800 Native students. For these students, DIAND paid out $4 000 000 to Manitoba. The Department paid out an additional $900 000 for student support, transportation, and other expenses. Manitoba contributed an additional $1 350 000 (that is, over 25% of its total operating costs) because DIAND's payments were insufficient to cover the amount of the grant plus residual costs paid by the province to each school division. Indeed, the percentage of costs covered by the province has been increasing each year.

Twelve hundred students fall into a migratory pattern, spending part of their time on reserves and the remainder in cities and towns. These students are covered under the Master Tuition Agreement *only when they are identified*. This usually means that they are covered by the MTA only for the portion of time they spend on a reserve (that is, approximately 30% of the time they are in school), though they are eligible, under the administrative regulations of the Agreement, for coverage of 100 per cent of the time they spend in school. For these students, DIAND paid $500 000 (that is, 26% of the total costs) in 1975, and the province and its local school divisions and districts (primarily Winnipeg School District No. 1) contributed $900 000 and $500 000 respectively during the same year. Another group of students eligible under the terms of the MTA, chiefly Indians in the process of establishing permanent self-supporting residency or students from reserves who live with relatives in urban centres, were never identified by school systems. For these students, $900 000 was spent by the province in 1975 and, in the same year, $500 000 was spent by local school authorities. Therefore, in 1975, total contributions paid by Manitoba and by its local school divisions for migratory and other students who would have been eligible for DIAND support under the terms of the MTA amounted to $2 800 000.

In 1975, 3200 pupils who are status Indians resided permanently off reserves in Manitoba. DIAND has ruled these students ineligible for claim by the province under the Master Tuition Agreement. The cost of tuition for these students was $4 300 000, and that amount was split between the province and the local education authorities: the former paid 70 per cent, and the latter paid 30 per cent. In total, the provincial and local authorities had to pick up $7.1 million in costs in that year for status-Indian students, either because these students were not identified, or because the federal government withdrew its service. Unidentified status-Indian students cost the provincial and local authorities $2.8 million, and withdrawal of federal services cost them $4.3 million in 1975.

Department of Education costs. In addition to making payments to school divisions for the tuition of status-Indian students, DIAND covers a portion of the cost of the administration and support provided by the Department of Education. On a prorated basis, 40 per cent of the expenditures of the Department's Native Education Branch and 5 per cent of all other Department expenditures may be ascribed to Treaty Indians. The actual amounts involved in 1975 were $250 000 spent by the Native Education Branch and $500 000 spent by other Departments, giving a total of $750 000.

Summary of fiscal analysis. The total provincial and local contribution to the education of Treaty Indians in 1975 was $9 250 000, to a total operating cost of $24 450 000. The former amount represented 70 per cent of the operating cost of $13 150 000 incurred by Treaty Indians attending provincial schools. The proportion of funds spent in this way increases yearly as migration from the reserves to urban centres continues to increase.

Overall Trends

Population Growth

The dynamics of a population of which 50 per cent is under the age of fifteen ensure a growth in the number of elementary and secondary school students of at least 5 per cent a year for the next twenty years. By the end of the present century, the number of status-Indian children attending school in Manitoba will have approximately tripled to 50 000 students. About half of these students are expected to live in urban areas, primarily in Winnipeg. This growth in school population will provide an additional 750 students per year and, on the basis of 1975 dollars, will cost an additional $1 200 000 in each year.

The Urban Shift

The increasing urbanization of Treaty Indians will have a number of effects. First, it will keep the population of reserves relatively constant and, therefore, the group's increased numbers will be absorbed in urban areas. Secondly, it will increase the numbers of students who are in the process of migrating to the city. Thirdly, increasing responsibility for covering the costs of educating Native children will be laid on the province rather than on the federal government. Instead of the federal DIAND bearing 70 per cent of the cost of educating Native students, as it does at present, the Province of Manitoba will bear 80 per cent of this cost by the turn of the century. In other words, all additional costs associated with increased school enrolment will be borne by the provincial educational system, with its school divisions and districts.

Program Coverage

Presently, 10 per cent of Manitoba's status-Indian students complete Grade 12. Drop-outs or 'push-outs' begin to leave school at an early age, though sixteen remains the school-leaving age for most students. In future years, more and more Native children will continue in the school system until they complete Grade 12. This trend of lengthened attendance will mean a 15 per cent increase in school enrolment: that is, 2500 students will be added to the present high school enrolment. This increase will add $5 000 000 annually (in 1975 dollars) to the cost of educating Indian students.

Costs

There are increasing demands for programs to meet the special education needs of Native students. These programs are necessary if Native students are to enjoy equal opportunity in the province's education system. These programs, however, will add an estimated average of $500 to education costs for each Native student. Given an estimated 18 000 Indian students in the system by 1981, there will be a $9 000 000 increase in education costs for program enrichment. This amount must be added to the $6 000 000 required to cover the cost of Manitoba's increased school population, and the $1 500 000 required by 1981 for increased retention of students advancing towards the Grade-12 level. Moreover, within ten to fifteen years, an additional $5 000 000 will be required annually for the latter purpose. Therefore $16 500 000 additional funding per annum will be required, in addition to inflationary increases, for the education of Indian children by 1981. Given the trends and arrangements discussed above, 75 per cent of this amount will have to be provided by provincial and local governments.

Emerging Trends

Administrative Arrangements

Manitoba's education system must be changed if it is to serve the needs of Native students more effectively. At present it is used by the dominant society to assimilate or reject most Native students. One way the process of change can occur is through shifting the control of Native education to Native leaders at the local or district levels. On the reserves, this shift of responsibility may be accomplished either through DIAND or through the provincial system. The province should make provision in its education structure for Indian bands to opt into the system if they find it to their advantage to do so. In urban schools, Native direction could best be supplied through adding special structures within school divisions. A combination of school committees and division-wide Native-education committees could provide an effective focus for education reform if these bodies were given sufficient encouragement by conferring on them control of discretionary funds or legislated or negotiated authority.

Fiscal Arrangements

Theoretically, the federal government has accepted the responsibility for educating status Indians whether they live on or off reserves. In practice, however, it pays only a portion of the cost of educating status-Indian students who live off reserves. If this practice continues, the Indian people will be the losers, since the fiscal capacity of provincial governments to meet the special needs of migrating Native people is less than that of the federal government.

The Manitoba government has proposed that the federal government provide funding for status Indians whose families move off reserves. This federal support might take either of two forms. The federal government might provide the total cost of educating status-Indian students, less an amount equal to a portion of the provincial taxes received from the off-reserve status-Indian population; this amount would be calculated by a formula related to taxable income. Alternatively, the federal government might provide special funding for urban areas housing a specified number of status Indians; the amount of money provided would be related to exceptional costs that Native education would involve and to the urban area's ability to raise taxes.

Winnipeg School Division No. 1 has identified some of the policy and program issues that must be dealt with if it is to provide better service to urban Native people. The Division's staff recognizes, for example, that it requires assistance in developing a comprehensive system of support programs for Native students. It realizes that the inner city experiences the most difficult social and educational problems. There is every reason to expect that the inner city will continue to be the catchment area for a majority of Native families moving to Winnipeg. Without substantial, co-ordinated, preventive measures, the educational and social problems of this group will increase, not only in number, but also in severity.

Specific support programs for families, such as day-care centres and the breasfast-and-lunch component of the nutrition program, must be expanded or increased, not only to meet future needs, but to eliminate the shortfall in supplying present needs. Future programming will have to deal with both aspects of a child's life: the school environment and the community environment, including the home. Programs must be developed to train and orient teachers so that they can become more effective in assisting children to develop their full potential. The lack of relevant curricula is considered one of the major sources of Native students' problems with reading comprehension. The Winnipeg School Division offers English as a Second Language (ESL) to new immigrant students, yet little is being done at this time to deal with the language difficulties of Native children. A program supplementary to the ESL program is required to assist these students to develop their language skills beyond oral proficiency to the point of achieving proficiency in English as a language of instruction.

It might well be beneficial to Native students for the schools to become involved in community-related support services, such as lunch programs and after-school recreational programs, in order to assist the disproportionately high number of single-parent families and families where both parents work. The schools could also play an important role in co-ordinating social and educational services that overlap both educational and social needs. If resource centres for parents were introduced in the schools, they could provide information to parents concerning services that are available within the community and the school system. They could also provide workshops to help parents adapt to an urban environment. They could provide educational material and toys to homes on a loan basis. Where space allows, day-care centres in the schools could provide valuable experience for children in preparing them for school attendance.

All of these program concepts, and others, will require special funding arrangements through senior levels of government, since local school boards will not have the resources to implement them. It is, therefore, imperative that the jurisdictional issue between the federal and the provincial governments, concerning the cost of Native education, be resolved quickly, and that a co-ordinated effort be launched to plan and implement the programs necessary to deal with the problems of poverty and despair faced by urban Indians. Only so can all levels of government make proper plans to develop the policies and programs necessary to remove the social and educational difficulties of Native people and, particularly, to prepare them for life and education in an urban environment.

Adult Education and Training

The Programs and the Participants[3]

Several categories of programs can be used as examples of the range of programs in which status Indians are involved.

University Courses

At the time of the writing, DIAND had sponsored seventy students in a variety of regular university courses in Manitoba's universities. Sponsorship covers payment for tuition and books, a maintenance allowance, and some travel costs. An additional twenty Manitoba status Indians were attending universities outside the province.

Special Programs: University Degrees

A great variety of special programs is provided through agreements between the universities and either DIAND or the provincial government. These include:

- Core Special Mature Students. DIAND sponsored twenty students in this program offered at Brandon University. Entrance requirements are based more on demonstrated personal capabilities than on formal educational achievement. Special programming is provided. DIAND pays for students' tuition, books, maintenance and travel.
- IMPACTE. Brandon University, in co-operation with Manitoba Department of Education and DIAND, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, the Manitoba Métis Federation, and a number of Manitoba school divisions, offer Native people the Indian and Métis Project for Careers through Teacher Education. This program leads to certification as an elementary school teacher. The program consists of training on the university campus and, more important, in elementary schools, as students acquire experience in the classroom. Graduates may continue training toward a Bachelor's degree.

In 1975, DIAND sponsored forty-eight status-Indian students in this program; eight were from the Fort Alexander Reserve. The provincial government sponsored the non-status Indian and Métis students who participated.

- PENT. Fifty-five student teachers in the Project for the Education of Native People attended summer courses given by Brandon University in co-operation with DIAND and the Manitoba Department of Education. Five years of teaching supplemented by summer courses lead to a Bachelor of Teaching degree. These students, too, are sponsored by DIAND, which pays for their tuition, books, maintenance and travel during the summer period.
- Access to the Professions. The Manitoba Department of Education has initiated a number of special programs that provide access to programs offered by Brandon University and the University of Manitoba. Access to the Professions incorporates the following programs:
    - IMPACTE (provincial portion)
    - Winnipeg Centre Project (teacher education for inner-core Winnipeg)
    - TERM (Teacher Education for Rural Manitoba)
    - Special Mature Students (provincial program offered both at Brandon University and at the University of Manitoba)
    - Community Education Workers Program (training community-based professionals for co-ordinating and teaching adult-education programs)
    - Native Family Life Counselling Program (training Native professionals to conduct programs in this field). There were eighty status-Indian students in the component programs that are part of the aggregate Access to the Professions program.

Community Colleges: On Campus

In December 1974, DIAND was sponsoring 117 students in Manitoba Community Colleges. From information provided by the Community Colleges and cost information provided by DIAND, it would appear that about fifty students were taking vocational training on the campuses of the Community Colleges in 1975.

Community Colleges: Off Campus

On or near reserves, the community colleges provide, under the sponsorship of Canada Manpower Centres (CMC) or of DIAND, courses in the areas of skill development or basic adult education. These are heavily attended by status Indians. In 1975 it was estimated from enrolment figures provided that there were 600 status Indians enrolled in CMC-sponsored courses and another 250 registered in DIAND-sponsored, basic, adult-education courses. Typical courses were held for a period of approximately twelve weeks.

New Careers

New Careers, a program offered by the Government of Manitoba, combines on-the-job training with more formal opportunities for educational opportunities. The program is designed to lead to permanent positions within the provincial public service or in other organizations. At the end of 1975, twenty-five status Indians were receiving training in the New Careers Program. These students are paid a percentage of their job-entrance salary during training.

Other Training

Each year DIAND sponsors small numbers of students attending the Winnipeg School Division Adult Education Centre, private trade schools, and out-of-province institutions other than universities.

Youth Secretariat Programs

The Government of Manitoba sponsors a number of Youth Secretariat Programs that involve significant numbers of status Indians. These programs include:

- Summer Education. Ninety-five status-Indian students attend three-week summer-education programs each year at the Guy Hill and Cranberry Portage sites.
- Youth Travel. Nine hundred and sixty-eight students from thirty-six Frontier and Indian Affairs schools participated in the Youth Travel Program, Northlands section. In 1975, over 700 of these participants were status Indians.
- Youth Activity Grants. Close to one hundred status-Indian students are referred to the Northern Youth Education Counsellors Project, which relates to school training and to drop-outs in Mystery Lake schools and five schools in Frontier School Division. The Frontier Collegiate Youth Centre, which provides a social setting and recreational activities for Frontier Collegiate resident students, is a co-operative venture funded by the Youth Secretariat, National Health and Welfare, and Frontier School Division.
- Work/Study and STEP. Some status Indians were employed through the Work/Study Program and the Student Temporary Employment Program (STEP). However, the exact number of employment placements has not been established.

Student Aid

Roughly fifty status-Indian students received bursaries from General Bursary Assistance or the Prince of Wales/Princess Ann Bursaries.

Agreements in Effect

The Fiscal Arrangements Act (FAA)

This federal/provincial agreement provides for cost-sharing on a 50/50 basis of the net costs of post-secondary programming. Major exceptions to this agreement are programs cost-shared under other agreements and the cost of student allowances or maintenance.

Manitoba Northlands

The federal Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) provides 60 per cent of the cost of the northern activities under the following programs, which fall under the subsidiary agreements of the Northlands program:

- Access to the Professions
- New Careers
- Youth Travel.

Occupational Training Act

The federal Department of Manpower and Immigration purchases places in the community colleges and also arranges for courses be held off campus for their clients. The purchase arrangements are designed to cover the entire cost of offering these courses.

DIAND Funding

DIAND will pay for a student's tuition and books while the student is attending a university or community college. The payment may be made to the student or to the institution. In addition, students receive a maintenance and travel allowance. DIAND also contributes to the Youth Secretariat Summer Education program. Facilities and staff are provided at Guy Hill, and $5000 for student travel is available for participants in that program.

Youth Activities Grants

The Department of Health and Welfare contributes $50 000 to the Youth Education, Counsellors and Frontier Collegiate Youth Centre Programs.

A Fiscal Analysis

The multiplicity of arrangements for various groups of status Indians attending post-secondary institutions creates a complicated picture. No consistent pattern of responsibility emerges. Arrangements are of an *ad hoc* nature.

DIAND provides funding for tuition, books, maintenance, and travel allowances for on-campus students enrolled in regular programs in universities and community colleges, as well as for students enrolled in CORE, IMPACTE, and PENT programs. It does not provide such funding for status-Indian students in the Manitoba Department of Education Special Projects (Access to the Professions and New Careers), nor for students sponsored in Canada Manpower programs.

Canada Manpower Corporation (CMC) programs, operated through community colleges, provide 100 per cent of the funding for maintenance, tuition and net institutional program costs; these last costs are met through Canada Manpower's purchase of training places in programs or through the payment of instructional costs for off-campus programs offered under its sponsorship.

The Manitoba Department of Education's Access to the Professions program pays student allowances as well as tuition fees or 'exceptional' costs incurred by the university in offering the programs. Student allowances account for 60 per cent of the program's budget. For the southern programs, 50 per cent of the costs, excluding allowances, are recovered under the Fiscal Arrangements Act. For the northern programs, 60 per cent of all program costs, including allowances, is recovered under the DREE Northlands Agreement.

The New Careers program also consists of southern and northern components. The southern program is offered to students for whom New Careers has contracted with CMC to provide training. For these students, Manpower pays a portion of the participants' salaries under the Canada Manpower Industry Training Program. The northern component falls under the Manitoba Northlands Agreement and, therefore, 60 per cent of all cost recovery for all the expenses of the northern component is available from DREE. These expenses include training costs and the participants' salaries.

The Youth Secretariat receives 60 per cent of the funding required for northern students in the Youth Travel Program under the Northlands Agreement. DIAND provides travel allowances, staff and facilities to a total contribution of $10 000 for the Guy Hill Summer Education Program. The federal Department of Health and Welfare (H & W) provides $8000 for the Youth Activities Projects.

As we mentioned earlier, DIAND provides tuition fees for students in regular university and community-college programs. Tuition fees cover only a portion of the institutional cost of providing these services to students. The difference between cost and tuition fees varies with the faculty involved. A conservative average estimate of the difference is $3000 per annum for a university student and $2000 for a full-time community-college student. These costs are shared on a 50/50 basis under the Fiscal Arrangements Act.

For all special programs leading to a university degree, whether they are sponsored by DIAND or the Manitoba Department of Education, there are costs incurred by the universities that they would incur for any student attending. As the funding for special programs only covers either

Table 3:3 Identified Program Costs and Cost-Sharing for Status Indians, 1975-1976 (in $000)

Programs	*Status Indians Attending*	
	Number	*Cost* *$*
1. University[a] (regular courses)	70	740.0
2. Special Programs leading to a university degree:[b]		
CORE	20	110.0
IMPACTE	48	270.0
PENT	55	45.0
Access to Professions: South	25	200.0
Access to Professions: North	55	440.0
3. Community College: On Campus		
Canada Manpower Sponsored[c]	N/A	N/A
DIAND Sponsored	50	334.0
4. Community College: Locally Based		
Canada Manpower Program	600	N/A
DIAND Program[e]	250	50.0
5. New Careers	25	313.0
6. Youth Secretariat	900	83.0
7. Student Aid	50	27.0
Totals		2 622.0

Federal Share					Provincial
FAA ($)	DREE ($)	DIAND ($)	CMC (%)	H&W (%)	Share ($)
105.0	—	530.0	—	—	105.0
0[b]	—	110.0	—	—	0[b]
0[b]	—	270.0	—	—	0[b]
0[b]	—	45.0	—	—	0[b]
40.0	—	—	—	—	160.0
—	264.0	—	—	—	176.0
—	—	—	100[d]	—	0
50.0	—	244.0	—		—
—	—	—	100[d]	—	0
—	—	50.0	—		—
—	90.0	—	40.0		—
—	26.0	8.0	—		1.0
—	—	—	—		—
195.0	380.0	1 259.0	N/A[d]	1.0	749.0

Notes

- *a.* A conservative figure of $3000 was used as an approximation of the difference between program cost and tuition fees. Actual costs vary by faculty.
- *b.* The universities incur some costs that are not reimbursed under these programs. The amount of the shortfall was not determined.
- *c.* The number of status-Indian students in CMC programs is unknown.
- *d.* Extrapolating information from a 1972-73 DIAND report, one could assume that $1 500 000 was spent by Canada Manpower on status Indians in Manitoba in 1975-76.
- *e.* Estimated from 1973-74 data available from DIAND.

tuition or costs incurred directly by the program, it is provided through the university's regular budget and, for this reason, is cost-shared by the federal and provincial governments under the Fiscal Arrangements Act.

The portion of Student Aid expenditures applicable to status Indians is entirely underwritten by the Province of Manitoba. The fiscal and administrative arrangements are summarized in Table 3:3, above. The provincial input identified for the academic year 1975-76 was $749 000. However, the total could well have reached $1 000 000 if the complete costing structure were known. These expenditures are applied primarily to the successful innovative programs implemented by the province. These programs are operated almost entirely with provincial dollars, except for the discretionary funding provided by DREE. The continuation of this source of federal cost-sharing is less secure than that provided through the Fiscal Arrangements Act.

Overall Trends

Regular Programs

If the trend towards increasing the percentage of Native students graduating from high school continues, there will be a much higher number of status-Indian students enrolled in regular university and community-college programs. At present, most of these students receive assistance from DIAND, and the net program costs (after tuition) are shared under the Fiscal Arrangements Act. However, DIAND is systematically withdrawing support from Indians living off reserves. Increasingly, therefore, the province may become responsible for providing a greater share of student assistance, through Student Aid or Health and Social Development, as well as for paying half the program costs of university or community-college students. At the same time, the status-Indian student loses a great deal if DIAND's assistance is not available. Regular Student Aid is unlikely to encourage these students. A recent study on Student Aid has shown that "the average disparity in living resources after awards is substantial between poor and richer recipients", and that "there have been a large number of students (700 to 900) with assessed or actual need in excess of $2,800., necessitating application for additional support from Health and Social Development Student Social Allowances."[4]

It is known that these are the types of hindrances that cause a poverty group not to utilize post-secondary education as a means of upward mobility. It is important, therefore, that exceptional educational support patterns be maintained if Indians are to have real opportunity for post-secondary education.

Special Programs

From 1975 to 1977, the Manitoba government was planning increases in the Access to the Professions and New Careers programs. Because these programs incur costs related to special training and training allowances, they are exceptionally expensive on a 'per student' basis. However, their success ratio is so high that the expenditures are well justified. Nevertheless, without extensive federal assistance, the provincial government finds it very difficult to expand these expensive programs to meet the demand. At the present time, such assistance is given through the DREE and Canada Manpower, where federal financing is on a discretionary basis. Should the federal government's commitment to these programs decrease, Manitoba would be faced with the choice of taking over their entire cost or else making substantial cuts in programming.

Other special training programs are provided through Canada Manpower. These programs, too, are funded on a discretionary basis, and no firm commitment has been made for their continued support. The federal government is proceeding to withdraw services to Indians by reducing DIAND educational funding. This transferring of problems to the provincial government and/or to other federal government agencies, provides another example of DIAND's not-too-subtle implementation of the policies proposed in the White Paper of 1969.

Emerging Trends

The federal government has not acted consistently in developing its responsibilities to status Indians of providing post-secondary education or training. The provincial government has defined principles that form the basis of post-secondary-education policies relating to status Indians. These principles require that:

- The condition of poverty in which most Indians live must not be a barrier to their post-secondary education.
- Successful special programs must be expanded to meet the need of Manitoba's Native citizens and must continue on a secure funding basis. The provincial government has proposed that:

- Student assistance for post-secondary training should be a right of status-Indian students, and such assistance should be guaranteed and funded by the federal government.
- The federal and provincial governments should share all other training costs of post-secondary programs, as they are in the nature of developmental expenditures.
- The provincial government and its universities and colleges should be made responsible for providing all post-secondary educational opportunities in the province.
- These arrangements should cover regular institutional programs, special education and special training programs, and locally based adult-education opportunities.
- Planning and administrative arrangements for special programs must facilitate Indian involvement. On-reserve programs should be controlled by the reserve population; the people living on reserves should either negotiate what programs are to be made available or should participate in teaching them.
- Indian participants should be free to choose the type of education or training they prefer.[5]

These proposals were worked out in consultation with Indian leaders in Manitoba and were accepted by them. There is no evidence that the federal government has approved these proposals. Every indication is that the federal government intends to maintain the trend that has developed since 1969: that is, through attrition, to transfer as much responsibility for Native education as possible to the provincial government. Other training offered through other federal agencies such as Canada Manpower is available to all Canadians and not just to Indians.

The result of this policy could be disastrous for Manitoba's urban Indians. If the provincial government is adamant and sticks firmly to the proposal outlined above, provincially funded student assistance would be eliminated.[6] This eventuality could effectively cut off the urban Indian student from all aid, since the federal government has already indicated the direction in which it intends to proceed.

The most impoverished group in Canadian society is suffering a lack of opportunity while governments squabble over their share of responsibility. If the federal government refuses to change its position on transferring responsibility for Native education, Manitoba's Indians will have to rely on the provincial government's relenting and providing them with the same sort of student assistance provided for non-Native students. Such a practice would place the Indian students in a position only slightly improved, since their need for assistance, given the extreme poverty of most of Manitoba's Indians, will not be adequately met from regular programming. If that need is to be met, it will be necessary for Indians and other concerned citizens and groups to apply pressure on the federal and provincial governments to resolve their jurisdictional dispute.

Notes

1. See pp. 104-5, below.
2. That is, total cost less grants paid.
3. The statistics relating to participants apply to 1975 unless otherwise indicated.
4. M. Segal, *An Economic Analysis and Evaluation of the Manitoba Student Aid Program* (Winnipeg, November 1975).
5. Government of Manitoba files, 1975-76.
6. Actions by the Government of Manitoba since 1978 indicate that it intends to refuse student aid to all status Indians.

4: Law and Justice

General Features of the Manitoba Corrections and Rehabilitation System

Correctional Jurisdiction

Responsibility for corrections is divided between the federal and provincial governments. The field of corrections is here defined as relating to probation, parole, group homes and other community homes, hostels and institutions that receive delinquent juveniles or adults, detention and correctional institutions.

Because they are viewed as court services, probation services, both adult and juvenile, are the responsibility of the provinces, since the British North America Act, now replaced by the Constitution Act, 1982 places the "constitution, maintenance, and organization of provincial courts" under the exclusive authority of the provinces. Institutional services, however, are shared by the two levels of government.

Under the Constitution Act, the Parliament of Canada has exclusive legislative authority over the establishment, maintenance and management of penitentiaries. The provinces are given like jurisdiction over "public and reformatory" prisons. Parliament has legislated, in the Penitentiaries Act, that offenders sentenced to a term of two or more years or to consecutive sentences totalling two or more years, will serve their sentences in a penitentiary; offenders sentenced for lesser periods will serve their time in provincial correctional institutions. Exceptions are permitted under certain circumstances: for example, if a prisoner makes a serious attempt to escape. By specific arrangement between the federal government and a province, penitentiaries may be made available to a province for other categories of offenders, or the federal government may 'purchase space' in a provincial institution. Discussions have been held from time to time to review the two-year-sentence category that distinguishes federal and provincial responsibility for sentenced offenders, but the existing practice has not been altered. Federal law, the Prison and Reformatories Act, regulates certain aspects of the program within provincial correctional institutions as, for example, 'temporary absences'.

Institutions for juvenile offenders are the responsibility of the provinces, but their costs of operation may be shared by the federal government under the Canada Assistance Plan if certain requirements are met.

Parole relates to the execution of a sentence of imprisonment and, therefore, falls within the jurisdiction of Parliament in the field of criminal law. Provincial parole authorities may, however, be set up in any province in relation to sentences served for violations of provincial statutes. Federal-provincial discussions have taken place to delegate to provinces, on an optional basis, parole authority over offenders serving sentences in provincial institutions. Related expenses would, presumably, be borne by the provinces. Manitoba has not indicated any intention of assuming this responsibility.

Target Population and Objective

Correctional and rehabilitation programs are directed to adults and juveniles charged with, or convicted of, criminal offences. No differentiation is made between Native and non-Native offenders. The programs have, as their objective, the protection of society through the redirection of offenders' abilities and activities into lawful pursuits, with minimal restriction of individual liberty, in accord with the circumstances in each case.

Programs

Probation

All probation services in Manitoba are the responsibility of the Ministry of Corrective and Rehabilitative Services. These services cover two broad categories of responsibility: first, the provision of pre-disposition screening and assessment of offenders and, secondly, the provision and maintenance of penitentiaries or provincial correctional institutions that are supervised selectively, on a fee-for-service basis, by agreement with the Solicitor General's Department of the federal government. Probation Officers, based in regional offices located throughout the province, serve all its areas, including Indian reserves. Except for the federal government's sharing the costs of New Careers Probation Aides, all the costs of probation services are borne by the province.

In the fiscal year 1975-76, Manitoba spent $2.1 million on probation services. The amount rose to $2.8 million in 1976-77. Linked to the programs of the probation services are a number of foster and group homes for juveniles and two adult-probation hostels in Winnipeg. *Per diem* costs of their operation are included in the Child Welfare appropriation of the provincial budget, as are the costs of placing delinquent juveniles in other child-care institutions. Under the Canada

Assistance Plan, there is no cost-sharing of the expenses involved in these cases because correctional services are specifically excluded under that Plan; nor is the province reimbursed for the expenses of Indian juveniles in the programs as it is under federal-provincial child-welfare agreements covering status-Indian children. The province's placement costs, covered by Child Welfare appropriation funds, of placing juveniles in foster and group homes and child-care institutions under the Juvenile Delinquents Act was $365 000 in 1974-75, and these costs increased to $505 000 in 1976-77. Table 4:1 shows the number and percentages of Native juveniles in placement, according to a Manitoba-wide-survey of probation case-loads made on 15 December 1975.

Table 4:1 Native Juveniles in Placement in Manitoba, 15 December 1975

Native Juveniles in Placement	*Number*	*Per cent*
Status Indians	79	31.5
Métis	77	30.7
Other	96	37.8
Totals	251	100.0

Probation case-loads throughout the province, as of 15 December 1975, were analysed to determine the percentage of status Indians receiving probation services. It is unlikely that this percentage would vary to any significant degree from week to week over the short run. The figures given for status Indians are low, if anything, particularly in relation to Winnipeg, since all Natives were recorded as Métis unless they were clearly shown to be status Indians. In Winnipeg, 8.2 per cent of those receiving probation services were status Indians, as opposed to 18 per cent in Brandon, for an overall average in these two cities of 13.1 per cent. In rural Manitoba, the proportion increased to 32 per cent.

Increasingly, probation services are being extended to Indian reserves through resident Indian Probation Aides supported by Probation Officers visiting on a frequent and regular basis. The Northern Probation Project is a case in point. Statistics for 1975-76 show that 84.9 per cent of those served were status Indians. The overall proportion of status Indians receiving probation services in Manitoba at that time was 20 per cent. Of this 20 per cent, representing 893 persons, some 433 or 59.7 per cent, resided on reserves, and the balance of 360 persons, that is 40.3 per cent, lived in urban areas.

Juvenile Correctional Institutions

There are three institutions in Manitoba established primarily for the detention and/or care of juvenile delinquents. They are the Manitoba Youth Centre, which houses juveniles in pre-disposition detention, the Manitoba Home for Boys, and the Manitoba Home for Girls. The last two receive delinquent children committed to care by the family courts throughout the province. These institutions also receive non-delinquent, difficult-to-manage children for temporary custody or upon order from the Child Welfare Treatment Panel. The Youth Centre houses those in temporary custody. The costs of operating the Manitoba Home for Boys and the Manitoba Home for Girls are shared under the Canada Assistance Plan. The Youth Centre does not qualify for such funding. On the basis of a survey of actual populations in juvenile correctional institutions, it is estimated that status Indians account for approximately 25 per cent of the population of the Homes at any given time. This may well be an underestimate, in view of the tendency to list Native persons as Métis where there is any doubt concerning their status. The result of this practice, in budgetary terms, is that the provincial government is paying part of the costs attributable to status Indians.

Adult Correctional Institutions

There are four adult correctional institutions in Manitoba, as well as satellite camps and pre-release community residences. In addition, the City of Winnipeg operates a detention facility located in the Public Safety Building. All four provincial institutions receive arrested persons being held for court appearance or on remand from the courts, as well as offenders sentenced to imprisonment for periods of up to two years less one day. In addition, the institutions at The Pas, Dauphin and Brandon contain separate facilities for the temporary detention of juveniles, and Headingley operates an adult-detention facility. The province bears all the costs of these facilities; in 1974-75 the expenditures for these facilities totalled $4.1 million. The costs increased to $6.3 million in 1976-77.

Human rights legislation discourages the maintenance of records relating to the ethnic origin of offenders. However, provincial authorities made an actual examination of Manitoba's institutional population on 11 December 1975. Tables 4:2 and 4:3, below, record the results. In summary, about 26.3 per cent of the population in Manitoba's adult correctional institutions at that time were status Indians.

The data given in Table 4:2 is supported by a study carried out by the Northern Corrections Committee and published in one of its reports. As recorded below, the Committee discovered that during the study period, that is, from 1 June 1973 to 1 June 1974, no fewer than 61 per cent of all adults from northern Manitoba, sentenced to imprisonment in provincial institutions, were Indians. It is estimated that the percentage of Indians in the prison population of southern Manitoba would be somewhat smaller.

The statistics presented in Table 4:2 were taken from Manitoba Government, *A Report on Corrections in Northern Manitoba*, which was completed in December 1974. Given that Manitoba's total budget for provincial correctional institutions for adults was $5 million in 1975-76, and that the estimated status-Indian population was 26 per cent of the whole, then Manitoba's expenditure for imprisoned status Indians would have amounted to $1.3 million. This entire cost was borne by the province.

Table 4:2 The Population Breakdown (Indian and Non-Indian) of Manitoba's Adult Correctional Institutions as of 11 December 1975

Institution	*Indians*	*Non-Indians*	*Total*	*Indians* %	*Non-Indians* %
Headingley[a]	107	216	431	24.8	75.2
Brandon[a]	25	61	86	29.1	70.9
Dauphin	6	16	22	27.3	72.7
The Pas[a]	17	26	43	39.5	60.5
Portage la Prairie	4	18	22	18.2	81.8
Totals	159	337	604	—	—
Averages	—	—	—	26.3	72.2

Note:

a. Includes all satellite facilities.

Table 4:3 Prisoners from Northern Manitoba in The Pas and Headingley Correctional Institutions, 1 June 1973 to 1 June 1974

	The Pas		*Headingley*		*Totals*	
	Number	*Per cent*	*Number*	*Per cent*	*Number*	*Per cent*
Indian	157	59	79	64	236	61
Métis	70	27	12	10	82	21
Non-Native	37	14	32	26	69	18
Totals	264	100	123	100	387	100

Penitentiary Services of the Solicitor General's Department

Manitoba has one major penitentiary, Stony Mountain, as well as Rockwood, a minimum-security institution, and Osborne House, a community release centre in Winnipeg. These institutions receive all offenders sentenced to prison terms of two years or longer. An inmate may, for security or other reasons, be transferred to a penitentiary in another province to serve his term, and Manitoba, for the same reasons, may receive prisoners from other provinces. The penitentiary-service budget for Manitoba was $4.7 million in 1974-75, and this amount was increased to $6.3 million in 1976-77. The penitentiary population has fluctuated considerably over the past few years. Currently it averages about 520 persons, 440 of whom are held at the Stony Mountain institution, sixty-five at the Rockwood institution, and fifteen at Osborne House. The daily cost of maintaining an offender in the penitentiary system in 1976 was about thirty dollars. In 1980 this cost had risen to approximately forty-six dollars a day.

These institutions do not maintain a population count related specifically to ethnic origin. It is estimated, however, that currently 34 per cent of their population is Native, and a random sample taken of this group showed that just over 50 per cent of these inmates are status Indians. On this basis, it can be concluded that about 17 per cent of the total prison population of 520 persons, that is 88 persons, are status Indians. In summary, status Indians account for 17 per cent of Manitoba's penitentiary population and a similar percentage of its budget. This would have meant an expenditure in excess of $1 million in 1976-77.

National Parole Service of the Solicitor General's Department

Authority to release persons from imprisonment in either federal or provincial institutions so that they can serve the remainder of their sentences while on parole in the community, rests with the National Parole Board. Parole Service is decentralized across Canada, maintaining offices in all major centres, including Winnipeg and Brandon. The National Parole Service has assumed the pre-release investigatory and post-release supervisory functions and the pertinent costs. Some of these functions, in turn, may be delegated, on a fee-for-service basis, to provincial Probation Services, correctional institutions which supervise day parole, or private after-care agencies or residences. Among these is the Native organization that offers a post-release supervisory service to Native offenders. This organization provides a residence, counselling, and assistance for Native offenders in obtaining jobs and enrolling in training programs. It receives a fee for service from the National Parole Service. There is also a Halfway House in Winnipeg, which assists Native prison inmates and ex-inmates. The House offers programs for adults on parole, parole supervision, and counselling.

The National Parole Service budget for Manitoba was $640 000 in 1974-75 and approximately $1 million in 1975-76. Of the latter amount, $42 000 was paid to Manitoba for parole service provided in 1975-76. It is assumed that under the agreement that is negotiated each year, Manitoba is reimbursed in full for the parole service it provides.

New Careers Program of the Department of Colleges and Universities Affairs

In 1976-77 there were thirty-three New Careers trainees in correctional programs in Manitoba, and twenty in half-way houses for delinquent and other juveniles. Some 15 per cent to 20 per cent of these trainees were status Indians. Fifty per cent of the services delivered were estimated to be directed to status Indians. The proportion of the costs shared in the funding of this program differed for Northern and Southern Manitoba. In the northern part of the province, the federal government paid 60 per cent of all costs; in the southern part, the federal government contributed 85 per cent of trainees' salaries during their first year of training and a successively smaller percentage in the second and third years.

Court Communicators Program

This program was established to serve Native people involved in the criminal court process, who require guidance on their best course of action. The court communicators act as liaison persons between their Native clients and the police. They advise the accused of various courses of action open to them, help them to contact legal counsel, and assist them to communicate with counsel. When necessary, they obtain legal aid for the accused and assist them to contact social agencies, relatives, or other sources of help. They help those in custody to arrange bail, if possible. They act as liaison persons between offenders and Probation Services, and maintain contact, on behalf of their clients, with reserves, communities, and relevant Indian and Métis organizations.

The Federal Department of Justice provides 50 per cent of the costs of the Court Communicators Project. In 1975-76 the total cost of the Court Communicators program was $202 000. Of this amount, the cost applicable to status Indians was $121 000, while the remainder related to non-status Native people.

Legal Aid

Manitoba's Legal Aid Program was established in February 1972. The program began its actual delivery of legal services in September of that year. The first Neighbourhood Law Office commenced operations in October 1972. Over 12 000 persons were assisted by the service within a seven-month period. The Manitoba scheme is unique in that it is based on a partnership between private practitioners enrolled on Legal Aid panels, but functioning out of their own law offices, and Legal Aid staff lawyers employed on a full-time basis and operating out of neighbourhood or community law offices established and operated by Legal Aid. The Legal Aid Program was bound by an Act of the Manitoba Legislature, which required it "to furnish legal aid without charge to any individual who is unable to pay therefor; and with a partial charge to any individual who is unable to pay all of the cost."

The original concept of this program was that of community or neighbourhood legal-aid offices offering a wide range of legal services, including preventive legal services, to Manitobans who had previously had no access to these services because of low income. The other major function of the projected legal-aid offices was the provision of education services to be delivered in the community by staff lawyers, in institutions, clubs and schools.

Manitoba Legal Aid arranged for the delivery of legal services to senior citizens under the auspices of the Age & Opportunity Centre, to individuals in penal institutions, and to juveniles in Winnipeg Juvenile Court. It also instituted the acquisition of paralegal personnel and the provision of round-the-clock service and services that would reduce the high cost of separation and divorce.

In its first full year of operation, Legal Aid assisted approximately thirty thousand persons, over ten thousand of whom were served through two community law offices located in Winnipeg's inner city. In its second full year of operation, that is, 1975-76, Legal Aid assisted 46 000 persons. Legal Aid Centres were operating in six areas of Manitoba, two of which were still in Winnipeg's inner city. Of the 12 500 persons assisted by Duty Counsel, 9000 were in Winnipeg. Approximately half of these people were handled by the two Centres operating in the inner city.

One of the most significant developments of Legal Aid was its initiation of 'outreach' programs. These are programs whereby staff lawyers, students and 'paralegals', working out of Legal Aid Centres, travel to different areas to hold half-day or day-long 'clinics'. This initiative has made legal-aid services available to the elderly through personal care and senior citizens homes, to juveniles through clubs and schools, and to persons in penal institutions through visits to prisons. The Legal Aid program has clearly served the low-income group of society. A large random sample taken from the program's files showed that over 70 per cent of those served in 1974-75 had an annual gross earned income of less than $1000. This figure does not include social welfare recipients who are assisted by Legal Aid. The low income level of persons assisted can be explained, in part, by the fact that a very high proportion of those charged with criminal offences report no regular income, and an even higher percentage of clients with domestic problems are wives with no income.

The overall budget for Legal Aid has increased dramatically over the years, rising from $1.5 million in 1974-75 to $2.3 million in 1975-76; further increases of 67 per cent and 10 per cent were made to the program's funding in 1977 and 1978. At the same time, however, the average cost per case has been declining. In 1975 it amounted to $258 and has steadily decreased each year to $226 in 1978. These figures suggest that the numbers of people being served have been increasing, while there has been no real increase in the program's cost per case. In fact, some minor economies of scale are evident.

The cost of Legal Aid services that were applicable to status Indians for 1975-76 was $337 000 out of a total budget of $2.3 million. It was not possible to determine what percentage of these cases derived from urban areas. Given the high proportion of cases handled by the Inner City Legal Aid Centres, however, it is reasonable to assume that a high proportion of these costs was attributable to urban areas.

Summary of Costs

Table 4:4, below, provides a partial summary of the proportional costs relating to status Indians for the fiscal year 1975-76. From the data it summarizes, it is obvious that the provincial government paid a disproportionate share of the costs relating to the correctional supervision of status Indians. The provincial government has expressed concern about this situation and has indicated its need for more assistance from greater federal government participation in this field of service. It wants the federal government to pay a larger share of the costs of existing correctional programs and to provide more support for preventive and developmental programs.

Overall Trends

The Indian population of Manitoba is expanding, in actual terms, at the rate of 4 per cent per year; it is expanding, as well, in relationship to the non-Indian population, which is remaining virtually static. The movement of Indian people to urban areas in search of employment and other opportunities and benefits is continuing at an accelerated rate, and because of the many barriers these people encounter in achieving a meaningful part in urban life, their rate of involvement with the law and,

Table 4:4 Per Person Cost and Estimated Proportion of Manitoba's Status Indians in Correctional Supervision in Manitoba, 1975-76

	Totals		*Status Indians*				
Program[a]	*Persons*	*Cost $*	*Persons*	*%*	*Federal Services*	*Provincial Services*	
						Fed.	*Prov.*
Probation	4 485	2 145.6	893	20.0			429.1
Probation with Placement[b]	(251)	504.9	(79)	31.5			159.0
New Careers[c]		345.0		50.0		46.8	125.7
Provincial Juvenile Institutions	206	2 596.5	52	25.0		142.5	506.6
Provincial Adult Institutions	604	5 009.3	159	26.0			1 302.4
Penitentiary Service	520	5 703.4	88	17.0	969.6		
Parole Service[d]	290	993.1	58	20.0	198.6		
						189.3	2 522.8
Totals	6 105	17 297.8	1 250	22.5	1 168.2	2 712.1	
Federal/Provincial Shares						1 357.5	2 522.8
						3 880.3	

Notes

a. Provincial program costs include a prorated portion of program- and manpower-development costs.

b. Placement count is included with probation count, but costs of placement are included in the Child Welfare appropriation.

c. These costs are over and above all other costs of correctional services and are included in the appropriation of the Colleges & Universities Affairs Department.

d. There are an additional 55 day-parole cases that are included in the institutional counts. Programs delivered by private agencies are included in these figures.

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consequently, with the correctional system, is also accelerating. The extent of unlawful behaviour of Indian people in remote communities shows no sign of abatement, largely because of a scarcity of socially and financially rewarding work and a lack of opportunities for recreation.

The increasing employment of Native people in Manitoba's correctional system is a positive development that is likely to expand if opportunities for training become available. The Indian communities have expressed a desire to be involved in the provision of correctional services. The New Careers Program offers an excellent example of a meaningful program designed to provide Native people with on-the-job training, as professionals, in correctional and probation work. Experience with this program has shown a high rate of successful completion of training and retention of graduates in permanent employment.

Emerging Trends

Status Indians are disproportionately represented in work-loads of correctional services at all levels. The ratio of status Indians under correctional supervision compared to the general population is 20 per cent to 4 per cent. This ratio suggests the need for:

- More effective measures to improve the lot in life of status Indians. These measures should include programs of social and economic development in rural and urban areas. All levels of government must make major efforts to provide the kind of comprehensive programs required to deal with the conditions of poverty facing Native people that cause them to be so disproportionately represented in the courts and in correctional institutions.
- The development of more effective and better co-ordinated community-based correctional services, federal and provincial, geared to their unique situations and needs, with the closest feasible involvement of community
- A greater financial contribution by the federal government toward the development and execution of necessary preventive and developmental programs
- Greater federal support for the development of probation services. The costs of this support represent only a fraction of institutional costs. Probation services, with enrichment, could retain a significantly greater number of Native offenders under supervision in their home communities as an alternative to imprisonment for non-payment of fines.

5: Health and Welfare

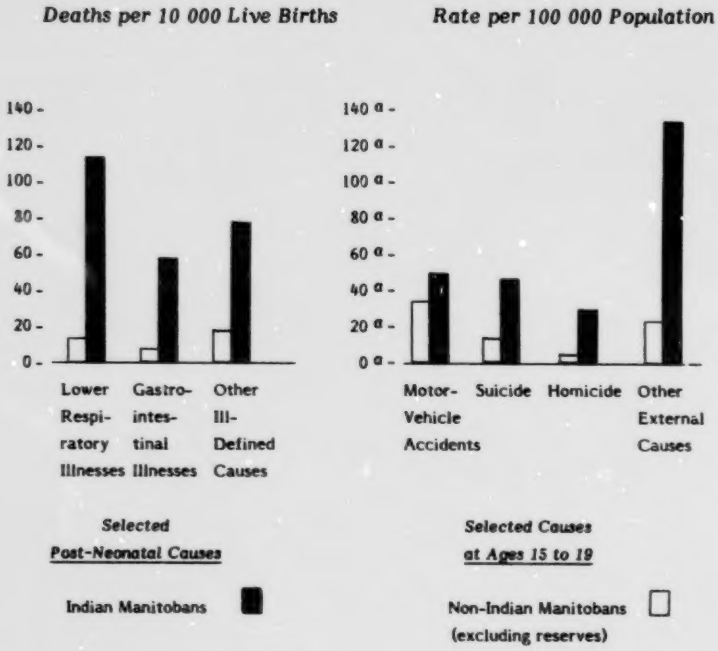
Health Policies and Programs

The Problem: Health-Risk Factors

It is inevitable that any people become ill who consistently eat inadequate food, live in poor housing, and cannot afford adequate clothing. Such constant hardships are currently commonplace among status Indians struggling for survival. The risks of illness and premature death are far greater for status Indians than for the average Manitoban, and the incidence of these events among Indians demonstrates the disproportionately high risk factors involved in their way of life.

To date, efforts to cope with the health needs of status Indians have met with very limited success. Infant mortality statistics illustrate an unusually high Indian infant-death rate, particularly from lower respiratory and gastro-intestinal illnesses; each of these illnesses strikes Indian children ten times oftener than it strikes the non-Indian Manitoban child. For older Indians, aged fourteen to forty, the death rate from external causes, such as suicide, homicide and motor-vehicle accidents, varies between two and five times the provincial average. Figure 5:1 illustrates causes of death in the period 1971-74 for non-

Figure 5:1 Causes of Deaths in Manitoba with 1971-1974 Averages



Indians and for status Indians in the post-neonatal and the fifteen- to nineteen-year age groups.

Existing data pertaining to the health and hospitalization records of status Indians indicates that these people tend to suffer from similar health problems and are frequently hospitalized. Expenses for this group, relating to death, illness, time lost from work, and family stress and breakdown, are enormous and create a serious burden on tax revenues. Efforts to reduce health risks for status Indians have been dismally poor. Community disorganization, individual apathy, inadequate and/or inappropriate support programs thus produce a continuing flood of human casualties. Despite rapidly rising health expenses and high utilization of health services by Indians, conditions are not improving. Current services generally provide a *curative* approach to ill health. The difference in state of health between Indians and affluent non-Indians is steadily increasing. Until health-risk factors among Indians are reduced, no reduction in their current heavy use of hospital and medical facilities can be expected.

Many of the causes of early mortality and morbidity among Natives are preventable. The victims of illness and death are most often children. Between 1971 and 1974, 29.7 per cent of *all* deaths on Manitoba reserves involved children under four years old. The factors that create health risks are becoming recognized, and this growing knowledge provides a potential for change in the patterns of morbidity and mortality. The medical profession is increasingly aware that to approach sickness purely in terms of organic malfunction is insufficient. It is becoming better known that the identification of conditions such as social stress and life crises ought to be an important part of modern diagnostic methods.[1]

The two governments' current approach to health-service delivery means that utilization patterns of health services reflect inadequacies in housing, food, clothing, education and employment. These life-style determinants prescribe the probable set of stresses and supports experienced by any individual. For the average status Indian, the stresses are great and the supports are few. The predictable result of policies that place their emphasis on treating illness, which is the symptom of an impoverished and unhealthy life-style, rather than the poverty that is its cause, is disproportionately high health-service utilization.

Current Health Programs

Existing health programs are designed to provide cures for ill health. Problems of service accessibility and of availability and quality of care are well documented for the average Canadian. Such problems are usually aggravated for Native people, and Manitoba's status Indians form no exception to this depressing pattern of very poor health and very high health cost per individual in this group. The service costs for the multitude of health agencies are expanding rapidly: at an annual rate of 15 per cent between 1972 and 1980. Despite these heavy costs, there is no evidence of reduced health risks or reduced utilization of health services among status Indians. Table 5:1 shows the current division of responsibility for providing health services to Manitoba's status Indians.

The existing records of service utilization clearly illustrate that medical utilization and per capita costs for Manitoba's status Indians remain over 3.5 times the Manitoba average. Status-Indian hospital utilization and per capita costs remain at 2.4 times the provincial average. When data-collection systems are improved, it may be found that the actual costs of these services incurred by status Indians indicate even higher per capita rates.

Manitoba's 1974 records of the number of patient days spent in hospital under active treatment indicate another vast discrepancy between the health of status Indians and that of other Manitobans. The province's Health Services Commission (MHSC) records for that year show 2860 patient days per 1000 population for Indians, compared to 1405 patient days per 1000 population for other Manitobans. While the average

Table 5:1 Agencies Responsible for Providing Health Services to Manitoba's Status Indians

Agency	*Service Provided*
Canada Department of Health and Welfare: Medical Services Branch	Indian & northern health Maternal & child care Communicable disease control Accident prevention Dental services Nursing services Provision of facilities
Manitoba Health Services Commission (funding agency)	Acute-care hospitals Extended-care hospitals Personal-care homes Medical care
Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development	Public health Mental-health institutions Mental-retardation institution Social Allowance health services Field health services Home care

length of stay in hospital is lower for status Indians than for other Manitobans (7.3 days as compared to 9.1 days), status Indians are approximately twice as likely to be hospitalized as are other Manitobans.[2]

Figures for 1975 show that the per capita costs of providing medical and acute in-patient hospital services to status Indians represented a threefold difference from the provincial average. Table 5:2 details those costs, excluding public health and out-patient services.

Table 5:2 1975 Per Capita Health Costs

	Medical	*Hospital In-Patient*	*Totals*
Manitoba [a]	$63.52	$168.59	$232.11
Canada [a]	$73.43	$177.71	$251.14
Status Indian (Manitoba)	$228.77	$403.55	$632.32

Note

a. Department of Health & Welfare.

Hospital and medical costs increased at the rate of 15 per cent per annum from 1976 to 1979. Considering that during the same period, the number of status Indians in Manitoba has shown an annual increase of approximately 4 per cent, the total federal and provincial, medical and in-patient hospital costs *only*, for status Indians, would reach approximately $67.6 milion in 1980, as compared to $27.0 million in 1975. Moreover, the federal contribution to the rising expenses incurred by Manitoba in providing insured medical services alters little. High users of these services, such as status Indians, place on provincial revenues a disproportionate burden for payment of medical services.

Particular notice should be given to the extremely high medical costs, covered by MHSC, of respiratory illness and gastro-intestinal illness among children under five years of age. This morbidity pattern correlates with that of high infant deaths from the same causes. (See Figure 5:1, above.) Such a drastic pattern clearly indicates a need for the provision of health-promotion services rather than the provision of curative services only. To make this change requires paying attention to the present deplorable living conditions of status Indians on reserves and in urban areas.

Hospital services for status Indians represent a similar pattern. Costs of providing care to the population at risk are relatively higher because more patient days are consumed by this group. The data indicates status Indians constitute a much higher percentage of the population at risk than do non-Indians. In fact, the probability of being hospitalized is 22.8 per cent for status Indians, compared to 11.5 per cent for other Manitobans. Of acute hospital-patient days used by 'A'-code Indians, approximately one third were used in Winnipeg. Over 71 per cent of psychiatric patient days used by 'A'-code Indians were used in Winnipeg. According to MHSC, of all 'A'-code individuals, 15.6 per cent had a Winnipeg postal address in December 1974. This is not an accurate indication of the number of Winnipeg's Indian residents, since many recent migrants--and even some not so recent--retain their home reserve postal addresses.

Federal-Provincial Agreements

The Medical Services Branch (MSB) of the federal Department of Health and Welfare generally provides for medical, nursing and hospital services on reserves in Manitoba. Much of the direct federal expense related to hospital services for Indians involves providing transportation to hospitals funded by the provincial budget. Once Indian patients are in hospital, all services are then cost-shared by the federal and provincial governments on a 50/50 basis. In some instances, MSB provides services to some off-reserve non-status Indians and Métis because of the geographic isolation of their communities. The province recognizes the provision of these off-reserve services and reciprocates by providing public health services to some residents of reserves elsewhere in the province.

Under the Medical Services Diagnostic Act, a 50/50 cost-sharing arrangement, roughly speaking, exists between each province and the federal government. Looking at the actual sharable medical expenses for 1974-75, however, we find that Manitoba recovered approximately 56.5 per cent of its costs, up to a stated maximum level. For each dollar in additional costs above that maximum, approximately 97 per cent remained direct provincial expense.

Because of high service users, such as status Indians, whose average annual per capita costs amount to $237, Manitoba's actual medical costs are increasing rapidly. The provincial government is concerned because factors both of inflation and of increased use of services place a rising charge on the provincial treasury. The province wants Ottawa to acknowledge its responsibility for status Indians, since this acknowledgement would relieve the province of the cost burden of such high service users.

Under the Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act, costs for in-patient active treatment and extended-care hospitals are shared, approximately, on a 50/50 basis.

The Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) covers the cost of personal-care-home services as an insured benefit; this coverage became effective in Manitoba in July 1973. Generally, CAP and the province share on a 50/50 basis the per diem costs of personal home care and drugs. The individual's residential charge is not covered by this arrangement and is often paid from the person's Old Age Security/Guaranteed Income Supplement benefits.

A special arrangement was made between Manitoba and Ottawa during 1973 regarding payment for such services for status Indians. This agreement acknowledges that the federal government is wholly responsible for paying the costs of on-reserve status Indians who enter a personal-care home. It is the responsibility of the administrator of the personal-care home to bill the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) directly for all costs for each on-reserve status Indian entering the home. However, if a status Indian has resided off reserve for twelve months or more preceding admission to a personal-care home, the federal government does *not* consider this special arrangement applicable. This is another example of the federal government's diminishing services to Treaty Indians by refusing them a service if they are living off reserves.

Other programs offered through the Department of Health and Social Development, such as public health, mental health, institutional care and home care are also cost-shared by Manitoba and Ottawa under CAP. While some special provisions exist for directly billing DIAND for the provision of these services to status Indians, they are the exception rather than the rule. Because of the province's problems in identifying status Indians and Ottawa's reluctance to accept costs related to these people, most CAP-funded services are cost-shared with the province on a 50/50 basis.

Since 1969 the federal government has gradually, but definitely, withdrawn from its position of financial responsibility for providing health services to status Indians. Migration from reserves has not diminished the need of Indians for health services, since the state of poverty that causes health problems is evident in urban areas as well as on reserves. Rather, the urban migration of status Indians has reduced federal coverage of Indian health-care costs from 100 per cent to 50 per cent. The rationale used by Ottawa to shift a greater cost burden to the province was based on the concept of universality. Essentially, Ottawa believed that health services should be accessible to all provincial residents, and that status Indians were part of the universal provincial population. This rationale is in keeping with the concepts proposed in Ottawa's White Paper. Table 5:3 demonstrates the rate and degree of attrition of federal health-care responsibility for status Indians.

The struggle to determine jurisdictional and financial responsibility for status Indians is continuing. The Manitoba government claims that it has lost significant revenues while still providing services. It maintains that if the federal government continues to withdraw from its

Table 5:3: Loss of Health-Care Funding to Manitoba's Status Indians

Effective Date	*Approximate Annual Loss to Manitoba, based on 1975 costs*	*Type of Service*	*Detail*
1969	$ 500 000	Mental health and mental retardation facilities	Federal withdrawal based on universality concept
1970	$ 500 000	Tuberculosis treatment	Federal withdrawal based on universality concept
1973	$ 750 000	Hospital and physicians' services	Province abolished health premiums. Ottawa stopped such payments.
1975 (partial)	$ 8 199 000	MHSC Hospital and Medical Services	Approximately 50% of service costs to status Indians

responsibility to provide for the health care of Indians, the provincial budget will suffer a tremendous strain in attempting to maintain treatment for Indians in need of these services. The possibility for developmental programming by the provincial government will shrink if the province has to shoulder an additional burden for health-maintenance services.

Fiscal Analysis
In providing health services as an insured benefit, government is paying the costs of treating, rather than preventing, ill health. Often the action it takes is too little and too late. The costs of this approach are illustrated in Table 5:4.

The cost of health services for status Indians increased to $820 per person during 1976-77, an increase of approximately 20 per cent in one year. Table 5:4 shows the identifiable provincial health costs relating to status Indians during 1975-76.

Table 5:4 Health Costs of Manitoba's Identified Status Indians

Agency	*Programs*	*Estimated Cost for Status Indians ($000)*		*% of Federal Contribution*
		1974-75	*1975-76*	
Federal Department of Health & Welfare Medical Services Branch	• Staff salaries	3 120	3 600	100
	• Medical & dental payments	810	1 600	100
	• Patient and 'other'			
	• Transportation	2 105	2 700	100
	• Staff travel	236	300	100
	• Hospital services	67	200	100
	• Drugs	644	800	100
	• Miscellaneous	1 729	1 200	100

Agency	Programs	Estimated Cost for Status Indians ($000)		% of Federal Contribution
		1974-75	1975-76	
Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development	• Executive function	42[a]	66[a]	50
	• Medical supplies and home-care equipment	25[a]	30[b]	50
	• Public-health nursing services	50[b]	60[b]	50
	• Continuing care services	35[b]	40[b]	50
	• Institutional mental health	247	310[b]	50
	• Institutional mental retardation	236	295	50
	• Children's Dental Health Plan	0	0	50
	• Field Health Services (PAT)	40[b]	45	50
	• Social Allowances Health Services	167	200[b]	50

Agency	*Programs*	*Estimated Cost for Status Indians ($000)*		*% of Federal Contribution*
		1974-75	*1975-76*	
Manitoba Health Services Commission	• Hospitals, in-patient and out-patient [c]	9 425	12 530	50
	• Medical visits [c]	2 715	3 508	50
	• Personal-care homes (per diem)	295[d]	384[d]	100
	• Prosthetic & orthotic	24	26	0
	• Pharmacare	0	0[b]	0
	• MHSC administration	238[b]	296[b]	0
Winnipeg City Public Health	• Public-health nursing			
	• Home visits	170[b]	206	50
	• Clinic services and school immunizations	40[b]	45[d]	50
	• Dental care	15[d]	10[d]	100
	• Medical supplies	5[d]	6[d]	100
Total costs		22 480	28 457[e]	
Per capita costs		$ 558.68	$ 677.55	

Notes

- *a.* Proportional cost, 4% of Manitoba population.
- *b.* Estimate only, limited data base.
- *c.* Figures are 'A' code, but are adjusted to represent status Indians excluded from 'A' code.
- *d.* Direct billing to DIAND, not added or double-counted.
- *e.* This total represents a 26% increase.

The costs shown in Table 5:5 are those that have been *identified* as relating to status Indians, using existing data sources. It should be noted, however, that current sources are far from precise in presenting accurate documentation on the actual use and costs of health services for status Indians; they are practically non-existent as sources of information about non-status Indians and Métis. The accuracy of DIAND's count of status Indians is questionable. The MHSC statistics consistently undercount status-Indian residents.[3] Much of the existing documentation provided by program directors gives only an 'educated guess' of service utilization. In all cases the provincial government maintains that its estimates are conservative and defendable. It could be assumed, therefore, that actual costs might be more than 10 per cent higher than those identified.

Emerging Trends in Health Programs

Without health, people cannot carry out their work effectively, cannot enjoy their leisure, and cannot easily acquire education. Moreover, no amount of compensation can make up for the loss of health when some disabilities are involved. The interrelationship between life-style

Table 5:5 Identifiable Health Costs of Manitoba's Status Indians, 1975-76

	($000 Costs)
Dept. of Health & Social Development	523
MHSC - hospitals	6 265
MHSC - medical care	1 754
MHSC - prosthetic & orthotic	26
MHSC - administration	296
Winnipeg City Public Health	125
	$ 8 989

determinants, health-risk factors, and state of health cannot be overemphasized. Until priorities and program funding are established in recognition of the shortcomings of the traditional means of handling health problems, little change will occur for status Indians in rates of morbidity and mortality or life expectancy.

To date, attempts to encourage, plan or conduct health-promotion activities in Manitoba have been splintered and sporadic, at best, or nonexistent, at worst. Factors such as attitudes, life-styles, climatic and informational limitations, and limited access to services, have contributed to the relative absence of health promotion in the province. Such imbalance between ill health and health promotion demonstrates a previous commitment to high-cost institutional care.

It would seem, from the current spate of government documents, that this imbalance has begun to shift, and that more recognition is being given to health promotion. It still remains, however, to translate such recognition into firm priorities and program funding. Some encouraging examples of this increased recognition by both levels of government appear in the following documents:

- *Provincial Guidelines for the Seventies:*

  The Manitoba government accepted the goal of maximizing the general well-being of its citizens by promoting a "comprehensive range of services which are essential to the maintenance of a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being".[4]
- *Manitoba White Paper on Health Policy:*

  The highly disparate infant-mortality statistics, for Indians and non-Indians indicate tremendous social and health-care gaps within our society.[5]
- *A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians:*

  If the needs of these populations are to be met, the values of the health-care system will have to be changed. 'Care' will have to be raised to the same level of importance as 'cure' before sufficient attention is paid to the needs of many populations with chronic or intractable illnesses.[6]

If governments were to focus on 'causes' rather than 'cures' in the health-care field, the high incidence of Native infant morbidity and mortality because of lower-respiratory and gastro-intestinal illnesses could be reduced. Preventive public health measures could do much to reduce the current need for curative methods to cope with common symptoms. External causes of death for Natives from fifteen to thirty-nine years of age could also be reduced by improving community 'care' through social and economic development programs. Significant change will only occur, however, when the present set of environmental constraints or life-style determinants can be altered to increase life supports and decrease life stresses.

If the federal government could be convinced of its responsibility for status Indians both on and off reserves, it might totally fund the health-maintenance services that are now in effect. The services currently provided by the provincial government and the monies expended for status Indians could be rechannelled into required 'developmental' or health-promotion programs. In fact, this possibility could serve as a negotiating position for federal-provincial discussions that might lead to a resolution of the jurisdictional issue. Such expenditures would likely result in marked reduction in costs of the regular health program. Most important, however, the early deaths and unnecessary illnesses of status Indians could be curbed. For the latter reasons, it is essential that the jurisdictional issue be resolved quickly. Until this happens, Indians will continue to suffer needlessly.

Welfare Services

General Features of the Welfare System

The term 'welfare', as it is used here, includes not only social security programs, but also social services, child and family services, and employment services, for those in need. The expression 'welfare programs' is intended to describe a range of services available to the poor, but not to prescribe any interrelationship between the programs. Welfare services, in this broad sense, exist to try to help people with problems they cannot handle by themselves. Usually the programs take the form of helping people to cope with difficult situations. Sometimes, however, programs address themselves to incidental factors of unemployment, educational failure, community apathy, or housing inadequacies. Programs, by their very nature, represent bureaucratic response to collective needs of individuals.

Welfare services are symptomatic of conditions of poverty. Whether one employs a relative or an absolute definition of poverty, the notable characteristics of marginal income, marginal education and marginal housing are striking. Life at the margin, which allows for very little flexibility in dealing with predictable stresses, leaves virtually no room for error. The possibility of changing conditions of the 'welfare syndrome', that is, persistent need for government support, is related to the opportunity structure available to any ethnic subculture. This opportunity structure, or possibility for intra- and inter-generational mobility, is expanded or restricted by the set of life-style determinants affecting each individual. The restrictions applicable to Manitoba's status Indians are serious. In brief, these restrictions may be portrayed with the pattern of 'givens' and the pattern of natural consequences demonstrated in Table 5:6.

Table 5:6 Life-Style Determinants and Life-Style Symptoms

Life-Style Determinants	*Life-Style Symptoms*
• Undirected northern and rural development	• Disruption of old rural social controls and culture
• Reduced availability of game, fish, fur, wilderness and other traditional sources of livelihood	• Increased social conflict, law-breaking, disruption of family life
• Water pollution • Land flooding • Mineral depletion • Fuel depletion	• Poor state of health: o high hospitalization rate o frequent early deaths o low birth weights

Life-Style Determinants	*Life-Style Symptoms*
• Influx of non-Indian residents and transients • Greater visibility of non-Indians with more wealth, better jobs, more control of government and industry	• Increased alcohol consumption and alcoholism • Loss of initiative • Low educational achievement
• Historical approach of federal programs to status Indians: o paternalism o promotion of acculturation	• Decline of nutritional standards • Greater dependence on welfare
• Accelerating urbanization: o leadership and skills drained from reserves, • Absence of meaningful work • 'Ghetto' Housing Structure • Poor quality of housing and limited accessibility to education without student relocation	• Increased feelings of o alienation o deprivation o resentment o disillusionment o demoralization

The set of life-style determinants can be altered by policy and program change in both public and private sectors. Welfare programming, however, must face the immediate problems of the numerous life-style symptoms of individual and family deprivation. Such symptoms, taken cumulatively, reflect the set their of life-style determinants and are not likely to be altered, no matter what symptomatic relief is provided.

Existing welfare programs have often been described as 'remedial' or as using the 'buggy-whip' approach. This means that the focus of most agencies' activities has been to help individuals cope with their plight in the midst of the existing pattern of their life-style deficiencies. The consequences of this form of assistance may be short-term coping on the part of the recipients, but the long-term effects of the underlying circumstances seldom receive attention. Some examples of long-term effects for Native people are:

- Waste of human resources and lost potential for individual development
- Burden on society of costs and stress created by unsatisfactory life-style
- Loss of potential benefits to society from Natives
- Increased possibility of civil disturbance by Native people.[7]

Current welfare procedures demonstrate that agencies focus on coping with major problems that already exist. There is simply little or no means or structure available for totally eliminating existing problems or for preventing them from developing into crises. Unfortunately, the remedial approach, by definition, fails to prevent the re-emergence of any given problem.

The System of Programs

The types of off-reserve welfare programs available today represent gradual changes in the remedial approach to symptoms of poverty. Table 5:7 presents these programs.

Table 5:7 Welfare Programs Operating in Manitoba

Legislation	*Date Effective*	*Delivery Agency*	*Programs*
Old Age Security	1927	Dept. of Health & Welfare	Income support for elderly
Unemployment Insurance Act	1940	Unemployment Insurance Commission	Short-term financial aid to eligible unemployed
Family Allowances Act	1944	Dept. of Health & Welfare	Monthly payment towards support costs of each child in a family
Old Age Assistance Act	1952	Dept. of Health & Welfare	Monthly pension to elderly provided without means test
Guaranteed Income Supplement	1967	Dept. of Health & Welfare	Supplemental monthly pension to elderly based on means test
Blind Persons Act	1952	Dept. of Health & Welfare	Allowance based on residence and means test

Legislation	*Date Effective*	*Delivery Agency*	*Programs*
Disabled Persons Act	1954	Dept. of Health & Welfare	Allowance based on residence and means test
Canada Assistance Act	1966	Manitoba Dept. of Health & Social Development	Child welfare, income maintenance, social services, work-activity projects
Indian Act	1951	Dept. of Indian & Northern Affairs	On-reserve assistance, social development and housing

The provisions made by CAP essentially consolidated separate cost-shared programs such as Old Age Assistance, Blind Persons' Allowance, Disabled Persons' Allowance and Unemployment Assistance Programs. This consolidation was intended to assist all needy persons, regardless of the nature of their need. In brief, the goals of CAP were:

- To help the provinces to provide adequate levels of assistance to persons in need
- To encourage the development and extension of welfare services designed to help prevent and to remove the causes of poverty and dependence on public assistance
- To strengthen efforts of public welfare departments to prepare and motivate assistance recipients to take advantage of opportunities

for vocational training, rehabilitation services and other measures designed to return them to employment

- To encourage the recognition of assistance as a right under specific statutory conditions and to remove any barriers in the form of provincial residence requirements
- To encourage the progressive extension of the provincial assistance and welfare-service programs to Indians on the same basis as that of the general population
- To encourage the development of integrated, comprehensive, provincial assistance programs that would enable those programs to meet the various requirements of different groups within a single program and administrative framework
- To provide a basis for effective assistance and welfare-services programs across Canada.

The CAP provides that the federal government will contribute half the cost of assistance provided by the province to meet the basic requirements of recipients. 'Basic requirements' were defined as including food, clothing, shelter, fuel, utilities, household supplies and personal requirements. For the first time, the federal government had agreed to share the costs related to child-welfare assistance for mothers with dependent children, and special care for needy persons living off reserves. These included children in child-care institutions and patients in nursing homes.

Under the terms of the Indian Act, DIAND provided for all assistance, social development, and housing needs on reserves in all provinces. Such efforts, however, have been described as ineffective and paternalistic. *The Real Poverty Report* labelled the paternalism involved "distasteful". It is also unsuccessful, even in providing the basic tools to raise Indians, Inuit and Métis from a state of poverty: " 'Indians do not have the money to develop their reserves. They cannot, like other people get it from the province and Indian Affairs doesn't have it. Credit available to Indians is minimal, often in sums too small to be useful'."[8]

The evidence suggests that welfare programming, both on-reserve and off-reserve, is designed to maintain the *status quo.* Any significant change in the opportunity structure for Natives as a result of the existing welfare services is unlikely.

General Trends in Welfare Programs

In the face of anticipated repetition of current welfare-service problems, it has become increasingly clear that the federal government, by withdrawing its support for status Indians, is shifting financial responsibility for these people. Manitoba is being compelled to 'pick up' services for status Indians when and where Ottawa unilaterally decides to terminate its support. Some examples of termination are:

- Indian Child Welfare. In November 1974, the Department of Health and Social Development was advised that retroactive to April 1974, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development "is neither prepared to accept nor approve new or newly found cases admitted into care of the Department of Health and Social Development."[9] It would appear that resolution of the jurisdictional problem is not forthcoming, that off-reserve services will have to be continued, and that Manitoba's revenues will be effectively reduced, by this measure, by some $1.3 million. These forecasts have been confirmed by the federal policy directive of 6 January 1976, which indicates that the federal government holds that the provincial Act is the governing one and places with the provinces the responsibility for welfare assistance to all needy children, including Indian children living *on or off reserves.* The federal Director General's accompanying memo is quite clear: he states that the federal departments "have no jurisdiction on this matter" and that they "will take action only when people that have authority refuse to utilize their authority."[10]

- Vocational Rehabilitation Services: Employment, Relocation and Training. In information dated 8 April, 1975, the Department of Health and Social Development was advised that the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs will "not be accepting billings from Health and Social Development effective June 30, 1975" applicable to vocational rehabilitation services for Native people.[11] In 1973-74 Health and Social Development billed the federal government $108 000 for such services.
- Income Maintenance. The federal government still reimburses the province and municipalities for all income-security payments made to adequately identified status Indians living off reserves. In a letter from DIAND, dated 26 January 1976, it was indicated that Ottawa wished to negotiate cost-sharing for income-security payments made to off-reserve status Indians. The federal government, which had been covering all the costs involved, wished to reduce its coverage to 50 per cent of those costs. DIAND wished to designate all off-reserve residents as provincial residents only, subject to the universal definition of need as specified under CAP.[12] The continuing process of attrition of federal services was summed up by R. Johnstone, Manitoba's Assistant Deputy Minister of the Department of Health & Social Development, 19 February 1976:[13]

> Over the past 8 to 10 years we have been subjected to a gradual but positive withdrawal of federal funding of health and social development services to registered Indians in the province. We have documented and re-documented this withdrawal and we have fought and re-fought many battles on these issues. If we consider this a ten year war then it is

> realistic to say that we have lost every battle. From a health and social development point of view, it would also seem realistic to say that we are now faced with evidence which indicates that the federal government intends to vacate the one or two remaining areas where they retain a service or financial involvement.

Identified Welfare Costs

The costs of providing welfare services to status Indians compare starkly with those applicable to all other Manitobans. Such figures illustrate the restrictions in the opportunity structure available to Natives by documenting their heavy dependence on residual government-support programs. The National Indian Brotherhood stated, in October 1975, that "an estimated 73 per cent of the Indian population is either unemployed or grossly under-employed, with the results that their purchasing power is extremely limited."[14] Their ability to buy adequate housing, food, and other necessities is thus severely curbed.

It has been estimated that during 1975-76, per capita welfare costs for status Indians was $771.98, compared to $79.65 for other Manitobans. Table 5:8 provides a breakdown of the estimate of Manitoba's per capita welfare costs. With unemployment figures for status Indians exceeding 70 per cent, such costs are not unexpected.

Emerging Trends

To alter the effects of many years of remedial welfare programming, significant changes must occur. As *The Real Poverty Report* states:

> The problems of the Canadian Indian will not be solved by a shuffling of jurisdictions. And increased social-welfare programs will not help much. What is required, evidently, is a

resolve to raise the Indians' standard of living—and on the Indians' terms.[15]

Table 5:8 Estimated 1975-76 per Capita Welfare Costs for Manitobans

		Total Costs ($000)	*Provincial Per Capita Costs*	*Federal Per Capita Costs*	*Total Per Capita Costs*
Status Indians (42 000)	DIAND	27 008.	0	$ 643.05	$771.98
	Dept. of H & S D	5 415.	$128.93	0	
Other Manitobans (1 021 550)	Dept. of H & S D[a]	82 585.8	79.65	0	79.65

Note

[a] Department of Health & Social Development, Community Operations and Social Security Divisions.

Any positive change in the standard of living of status Indians will occur by alteration of the set of life-style determinants mentioned above. The facts pertaining to federal withdrawal from responsibility for status Indians are clear. A strong case exists for the provinces to expect Ottawa to provide all necessary remedial programs to status Indians while the provinces begin developmental programming to affect the set of life-style determinants. On these terms both developmental and maintenance-support programs could be provided to Native peoples.

Initiation of the new approach to providing welfare services may be feasible only after such changes are deemed appropriate by Native people themselves. In addition, such program goals and activities must be made to 'fit' or complement educational and employment-skills training and opportunities. Once the interrelationship of these factors is recognized, and once Native people are accepted as capable of contributing to their own destiny, then the possibility of expanding their opportunity structure will increase.

Notes

1. See Alfred H. Katz, "The Social Causes of Disease" in H.P. Dreitzel (ed.), *The Social Organization of Health*, pp. 5-14 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1971).
2. MHSC statistics ('A' code) show an identified status-Indian population that amounts to only 86% of the total Manitoba status-Indian population recorded by DIAND. The MHSC lists individuals for whom it takes responsibility by region, and no such individuals are listed in Winnipeg. The MHSC listing records the individual's region of reserve residence at the time that the 'A' code was established. It is possible thay many 'A'-code individuals are now living permanently off reserves.
3. See p. 156, above.
4. Province of Manitoba, *Guidelines for the Seventies, Social Goods & Services*, Vol. 2 (Winnipeg, 1973), p. 22.
5. Province of Manitoba, White Paper on Health Policy, Appendix I-B (Winnipeg, 1972), p. 175.

6. Department of National Health and Welfare, *A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians* (Ottawa: The Department, April 1974), p. 41.
7. A senior official in the Department of Indian Affairs confided to the author that this was a major concern of DIAND in view of the increasing urbanization of Indians who are not prepared for urban society.
8. Heather Hildebrandt, "The People Factory", in W.E. Mann (ed.), *Poverty and Social Policy in Canada*, p. 320 (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970), as quoted in I. Adams *et al.*, *The Real Poverty Report* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1971), p. 70.
9. Government of Manitoba files 1975-76.
10. Government of Manitoba files 1975-76.
11. Government of Manitoba files.
12 Government of Manitoba files 1975-76.
13. Government of Manitoba files, 1976.
14. Government of Manitoba files, 1976.
15. Adams *et al.*, *The Real Poverty Report*, p. 72.

6: Social and Political Organizations

General Features

Background

A large percentage of Native migrants to cities arrive with several social and economic handicaps. These include poor health, low income, low levels of education and vocational skills, lack of familiarity with the resources of the city, and a predisposition to get into difficulties with various enforcement agencies such as the police, truancy officers, and child-protection workers. As a group, Native migrants appear to need a significantly larger share of provincial and municipal services than do non-Natives, and this need is expected to grow as the influx of Native people into urban areas accelerates. On a per capita basis, the costs of providing such services would be many times higher for Natives than for other residents.

The present phenomenon of rural Natives' migration to urban centres is distinguished by a number of unique factors. Today's migrants represent a particular and distinguishable ethnic group with a history of grievances, unresolved claims and, for many, a special legal relationship to Canada's federal government. Native migrants tend to retain close ties with the communities from which they come. Most are extremely poor and are likely to remain so in the city. Both their origin and their poverty tend to reinforce their isolation from other urban Canadians. This isolation breeds suspicion, hostility and prejudice between the two groups. These are the conditions that lead eventually to the development of ghettos and that generate urban violence.

Over the years, many social and political organizations have evolved that attempt to deal with the special problems encountered by Native migrants. Some of these organizations have been established by non-Natives who wanted to assist Natives, while many have been initiated and carried on by Native people who, themselves, felt the need to 'do something' about the obvious plight of urban Natives. Some organizations were formed on a more distinctly provincial basis and relate mainly to Manitoba's rural and northern Native people. These organizations, in recent years, have been paying increasing attention to the problems of urban Natives as the migration process has been increasing and there has been more pressure on them to relate to the urban problems of Native citizens.

Friendship-Centre Program

The oldest and perhaps best-known organization in Winnipeg that works with status and non-status Indians and Métis is the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre (IMFC). It was established in 1958 with a grant from the federal government. The Centre's purpose was to assist migrating Native people to solve the problems relating to their move. This represented the federal government's first official recognition of those problems. The opening of the Centre was followed, in 1964, by the signing of an agreement between the provincial and federal governments, which provided for cost-sharing, on a 50/50 basis, expenses arising from the development and maintenance of Friendship Centres in Manitoba. Funds were provided, subject to specified ceilings, and the province administered the grant and recovered from Ottawa the appropriate share of its costs.

In 1972 Canada's federal government completed a review of the Friendship-Centre program and introduced a new policy to govern that program's further development and operation. The effect of this policy was to terminate the previous federal-provincial agreement concerning Friendship Centres. By way of replacing this agreement, the federal government undertook to commit itself to an expenditure of $26 million over a five-year period, to cover the requirements of Friendship Centres across Canada for core funds, capital costs, and training needs of personnel to operate the Centres. A special demonstration fund of $11 million was also included in the amount. This sum was intended to enable social agencies or community groups to develop special or experimental programs to assist migrating Native people. It was obvious that the federal government expected that provincial and municipal programs would be made available to Native people living in the cities on the same basis as they would to anyone else. The government was prepared to fund 'special' or experimental programs, but was not prepared to pay for regular services to any Natives, including status Indians. This determination on the part of the government represents further evidence of its implementation of the White Paper of 1969.

Under the federal program, levels of core funding for Friendship Centres were to be determined by the size of the city that the various facilities served. Three classes of urban centres were identified, ranging from the largest to those with populations of under 20 000 persons. The government expected, also, that Friendship Centres would be able to raise at least 20 per cent of their capital requirements in the largest centres, 15 per cent in the intermediate cities, and 10 per cent in the smaller communities.

Between 1972 and 1977, the number of Friendship Centres in

Manitoba increased to ten. The pressures being generated by a rapidly increasing movement of Native people to the cities have, however, highlighted a number of shortcomings in the federal policy governing these Centres. The Friendship Centres have made the case that their functions and levels of funding need to be reassessed. They claim that experience to date shows that the present policy relating to the Centres is inflexible in that core funding is based on community size alone and has little to do with the actual need for and potential impact of the Centre. They maintain that the amount of core funding provided should be determined entirely on the merits of each Centre's demonstrated needs and its ability to implement an effective program.

The inconsistency in the federal government's program is made apparent by the actual operating experiences of the Friendship Centres. The Centres claim that none has the financial capacity to develop and implement needed programs for its clientèle. The federal policy seemed to assume that Centres would function essentially as referral agencies offering some in-house counselling services, and that established community resources would meet the need for programs. The Friendship Centres claim that this has not happened. They list many reasons for the lack of such development, including the circumstances that:

- Social agencies have not become involved in any significant way in developing special or demonstration projects because the federal allocation of $11 million earmarked for this purpose has never been spent.
- Given the exceptional costs associated with delivering programs to Native people, municipal and provincial agencies have resisted extending more than the minimum services.
- Native people are reluctant to seek assistance from agencies which show little or no understanding of their needs and [which] may demonstrate a bias against getting involved by

referring clients to [the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development] DIAND or elsewhere.

- Efforts [made] by Friendship Centres to meet the needs of Native urban migrants by developing special programs in the fields of housing, job training, communications, drug and alcohol abuse, health care, probation, and so on, have been frustrated by a lack of funds.[1]

The Centres complain that federal concepts, policies and programs should be more closely adapted to the needs of migrating and urbanized Native groups. They cite examples of gaps in federal programs. One of these examples is that of Kinew Housing, a Native housing corporation which, in a period of more than six years since it was first introduced, has been able to acquire and rent to Native people in Winnipeg only about one hundred houses. The positive and rehabilitative impact on Native families of adequate housing in good neighbourhoods can be demonstrated by the results of the existing program, limited though its scope is. The vast majority of Native people, however, lack access to this program because of its limited range. The IMFC claims that Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) ooes not recognize Native people as a group with special needs and problems. The Centre points out that this particular federal agency has been threatening to withdraw its core funding to Kinew, and that it will probably do so. CMHC argues that the administrative needs of Kinew should be met out of the rents charged to its clientèle, and that the program should be administered along the lines of a public-housing project. Neither Kinew nor the Native families whom it serves are prepared to accept this arrangement.

The Friendship Centre's 1978 brief to the federal government also referred to its efforts to develop economic projects that would offer employment to Native people in Winnipeg. In most cases, the Centre has encountered serious obstacles. One of these instances involved a Native-operated construction company, Amisk, which employed only Native people, and which obtained training grants from Canada Manpower & Immigration. The Centre claimed that Amisk had approached other federal agencies for funding, but that those agencies were unable to respond to its need. It complained that even though the estimated unemployment rate among urban Native people stood at 60 per cent, Amisk could not hire more than a few workers because it was unable to purchase sufficient equipment to employ larger crews.

Representative Bodies

The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (MIB) was formed to represent the status-Indian people of Manitoba. By its very structure, however, this body is mainly rural and northern in its orientation. The president and executive members of the organization are elected by the Chiefs of the Indian bands, which are all located in rural or northern areas of the province. The Chiefs serve collectively as the MIB's Board of Directors. Over the years, the primary thrust of this organization has been to lobby for the interests of the Indian bands. This is understandable, as conditions of the most extreme poverty continue to exist on Indian reserves. The MIB has pressured governments to organize programs to deal with the economic and social problems of the Indians living on reserves. Its policy with respect to the federal government has been to pressure for local control of administration of programs serving Indians. This has meant, in effect, that the Band Councils of the reserves have steadily assumed more and more control over the management of programs dealing with their respective communities.

In more recent years, the Indian bands have grouped together regionally in tribal councils to establish a regional administrative authority that can deliver programs which are not feasible for each reserve to deliver on its own. The Dakota-Ojibway Tribal Council in south-west Manitoba, for example, has taken over policing duties for the reserves in its area. This arrangement has allowed the Council to achieve certain economies of scale in the training and administrative costs involved, as well as to provide a more efficient service. The tribal councils are negotiating an arrangement to take over the control of more programs and to initiate economic development programs. Programs of the latter sort have received low priority in DIAND's administration.

The MIB has acted generally to promote the interests of Indian people with governments, industry and the public. It has pressured for improved training, education and medical services. In all of these areas, however, it has maintained its position that status-Indian people are the responsibility of the federal government. It also takes the position that Indian people are citizens of the Province of Manitoba and therefore should be eligible for services that are provided for all other citizens of the province. Paradoxically, the MIB has spent considerable time and effort in protecting the 'special' status of the Indian people. For example, it has provided Indians with legal assistance to fight against any erosion of their hunting and trapping rights and their access to natural resources generally.

The MIB has participated with the Government of Manitoba in a major study and planning exercise to identify the areas in which the federal government was withdrawing services to status Indians. The two partners in this enterprise concentrated particularly on urban Indians because that group was the one most affected by the federal government's withdrawal of services in education, health care, and other program areas. The MIB supported the provincial government's claim that the federal government was responsible for continuing to pay for these services to status Indians, regardless of which body delivers the services. Along with the provincial government, it made a joint presentation to this effect to the federal government.

In recognition of the special problems of status Indians in the urban area of Winnipeg, the MIB co-operated in forming the Winnipeg Indian Council. The Council is, in fact, considered an arm of the MIB and provides a representative body for all status Indians in Winnipeg. It provides advocates for housing, health, education, and recreation needs. It also makes available an interpretation program to those who require this assistance while in institutions or while seeking services they need in the city.

The MIB receives most of its organizational funding from the federal government, primarily through DIAND and the Secretary of State. An insignificant core-funding grant is provided by the provincial government. DIAND provides funding for research on the Indian Act land claims and for association meetings and activities relating to community development, economic development and education. The Secretary of State provides core funding for MIB's administration. Recreation funding is provided through the Department of Health and Welfare, Canada.

At the time of writing, the MIB was undergoing organizational changes. Its name had been changed to the 'Four Nations Confederacy' (FNC), but the basic objectives of the MIB and the 'grass-roots' control by the Chiefs were maintained, and the Chiefs continued to serve as the organization's Board of Directors. They elected a 'Grand Chief' and Councillors to serve as the executive for the FNC.

The Manitoba Métis Federation (MMF) represents the Métis people of that province. It has provided for those people an organization similar in structure to the MIB. The Federation is based primarily in the province's rural north; its elected officials represent six regional areas. Winnipeg lies in one of these areas, which also includes a large rural section extending 400 km north from the American border. The Federation's stated purpose is to assist Métis people to develop a sense of identity and to organize their full participation in economic, social and educational training programs. The MMF also provides a forum for the identification of problems facing Métis people, and the means by which they can find solutions to those problems through collective action. It receives most of its funding from the federal government. The provincial government provides only a small administration grant.

The MMF has concentrated on province-related problems that face the Métis and has negotiated the delivery of programs that affect them. One of the Federation's major programs is related to housing. The MMF delivers the Manitoba component of the CMHC program for rural and Native housing, which operates only in the rural and northern areas of the province. It has formed a major research team that looks into the issue of Métis land claims. This program has been partially financed by the federal government. The Federation also operates programs that relate to education, sports and recreation, and employment development. Its education program provides bursaries for Métis students.

In addition to taking these initiatives, the MMF has founded a Native-employment agency called 'Manitoba Pathfinders'. This organization employs three Native counsellors in Winnipeg and also has offices in Dauphin, Brandon, Portage la Prairie and Selkirk. It offers vocational, personal and family counselling, as well as referral to job-training programs provided by Canada Employment. It also arranges for training in basic literacy and provides information and advice to employers who wish to hire Native people.

It was not possible to determine the overall impact of MMF programs on urban Métis. Most migrating Métis, of course, come from Manitoba's rural and northern communities, and it is the rural and northern areas that have benefitted from the general lobbying of the MMF for improved education and employment opportunities that will lead to Métis achieving a positive sense of identity in society.

Similar to the MMF, but established as a separate organization, is the Métis Women's Association of Manitoba. This provincially based organization also receives most of its funding directly from the federal government. It provides a focus on the special problems of Métis women in Manitoba. It has offices in six regions, including one in Winnipeg. The Association promotes programs to assist Métis and non-status-Indian women to achieve specific aims relating to leadership, political awareness, health, education, child care, home-making skills, and Native crafts. Other objectives relate to reducing problems in the Native community, including alcohol and drug abuse and discrimination.

Social Agencies

Several projects were established to assist Native people to overcome problems of alcoholism. Perhaps the best known of these projects originated with the Native Alcoholism Council of Manitoba. This Council works with other agencies to provide assistance for Native people who are in difficulty with the law as a result of excessive use of alcohol. It provides speakers for community groups and counsellors for Native people in penal institutions. It provides education on alcoholism and manages a rehabilitative accommodation facility for Native people called 'Pritchard House'.

The Main Street Project operates a twenty-four-hour-a-day referral service, a drop-in centre on Winnipeg's Main Street 'strip', and a twenty-man street patrol, the purpose of which is to prevent social difficulties. It maintains a twelve-bed, overnight, detoxification centre for hopeless alcoholics. The area the Project serves is the core area of Winnipeg, extending from the CPR Yards to Market Avenue and from the Disraeli Freeway to Sherbrook Street. It is estimated that 65 per cent of the people served by this project are Native.

A number of church-sponsored agencies also provide a variety of services. The Indian and Métis Reception Lodge was established by the United Church of Canada to provide short-term accommodation for Native people who are in Winnipeg for medical or employment-related reasons. The Mennonite Church operates the Walnut Reception Home for similar purposes. The Pentecostal Indian Church, the United Church, the Mennonite Church and other denominations offer counselling and referral assistance to Native people. The St. John Bosco Centre, under the direction of Father H. Gervais, provides a counselling and drop-in centre primarily for Native people.

Organizations have been formed by Native people or in co-operation with Native people, to deal with Native family services and culture. One such service, the Ukansheeyot Kinamatteehicknick (Little Ones' School) Inc., was formed through the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre. This school was founded to provide Indian and Métis children with non-alienating school situations. It employed two teaching assistants who speak Saulteaux and Cree. It provided transportation for children living in the core area of Winnipeg. A related service is Project Neecheewam Inc., which provided a community-based treatment program to meet emotional needs of Native children living away from their homes, who require assistance. The Project provided programs to promote and develop each child's sense of identity and self-worth. It operated three group homes in Winnipeg, as well as Camp Neecheewam on the Fort Alexander Reserve. This camp, which closed in 1980, was located approximately 145 kilometres north of Winnipeg. Another organization called the 'Indian Family Centre Inc.' arranged for Indian families and individuals living in Winnipeg to meet and share problem-solving ideas. The Native Family Life Counselling Program provided a two-year training program in family counselling for Native people. The trainees were placed in Winnipeg agencies that served Native people. The Manitoba Indian Cultural Education Centre was established to provide a cultural centre and a library intended primarily to serve the educational and cultural needs of Native people. These organizations have all received funding from both federal and provincial governments, though their major source of funding has been the federal government.

General Trends

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has maintained that federal jurisdiction and responsibility apply only to Indians living on reserves, but the implications of the concept of maintaining different policies for off-reserve and on-reserve Indians have serious effects on the whole group. Manitoba has informed the federal government and its Indian people that it lacks both the financial resources and the special programs needed to meet the exceptional costs associated with an increasing Native migration to its cities. In any case, the province never has provided any significant services to status Indians, other than those of the most basic sort. Moreover, Indian people have made it clear through the MIB that they do not want their special legal relationship to Ottawa to be eroded or displaced by an arbitrary administrative identification of an 'Indian' that depends entirely on place of residence.

There appears to be no justification, therefore, for assuming or expecting that the needs of Manitoba's migrating Native people can be met within the same framework of programs, delivery arrangements or cost-sharing agreements that apply to the province's non-Native citizens. As a result of the federal government's withdrawal of services to status Indians who migrate to urban centres, not to say its refusal to continue to provide for these migrants even the basic services it provides for Indian people on reserves, it is plain that there is a lack of social and economic services to deal with the needs of migrating Native people. Private groups or Native people themselves have established various agencies to attempt to deal with special needs of Natives living in urban centres. Obviously, these agencies are ill-equipped to deal with the magnitude of these problems. Serious needs continue to exist in areas of health, education, social services, housing, and economic programs. The agencies described in this section are merely able, at best, to deal with emergency situations. Their very existence demonstrates the need for attention by all levels of government to the problems of urban Native people.

Emerging Trends

It is obvious that all levels of government and Native people themselves should try to mobilize their resources more effectively to ensure maximum program relevance, co-ordination of effort, and adequate levels of financing in programs offered to Native people. In order to accomplish this objective, it will be necessary for these bodies to acquire a much more detailed appreciation than they have acquired so far of the effect of the urbanization process on Native people. The federal government and the Government of Manitoba, in co-operation with Native organizations, should undertake a comprehensive demographic analysis of migration from reserves and Native communities. It would be desirable to include in such a study a comparable analysis of Métis and non-status Indians. Information provided by such a comprehensive demographic analysis, including an evaluation of the use, application and relevance of existing programs and services, would provide a basis for more adequate planning and co-ordination of future programs and services. This analysis could be carried out through an arrangement that would take account of federal, provincial, Indian and Métis interests and could be of the type that has been considered in some negotiations between the province and the federal government.

The current position of Manitoba, and one that is supported by Indians, is that the federal government should be prepared to recognize and pay for the program needs of Indian people living both on and off reserves. If this position were accepted by the federal government, federal/provincial cost-sharing could apply in certain designated sectors of the economic program, to ensure a more focused and efficient use of provincial resources and to complement federal spending more effectively. There may be justification, as well, for recognizing a 'Métis factor' in any fiscal arrangements reached by the federal and provincial governments on Indian programs. In this larger context, Frienship Centres and other agencies serving identified needs of migrating Native people could be offered not only adequate levels of core and capital funding, but also program grants. Adequately funded programs could continue to provide services in areas they have already been involved in, such as counselling, training and development, shelter, various forms of emergency and social assistance, and cultural activities. These programs would not duplicate those now available for Native people living in the city, nor would they be likely to duplicate expanding government programs. Additional financial input will obviously be necessary to deal with the growing influx of Native people who, on a per capita basis, require services at a cost many times higher than those needed by Manitoba's other residents.

Note

1. Indian and Métis Friendship Centre of Winnipeg, *Proposal*, presented to the federal government, 1978.

7: Conclusions

One central theme has emerged from this analysis of government policies and programs and their relationship to Indian people. That theme is the federal government's quiet, but determined, implementation of its White Paper policies of 1968-69 that it developed unilaterally. These policies were rejected by the Indian people and the provincial governments of the day, with the result that the federal government promised that the White Paper would not be implemented without the concurrence of Indian people. Subsequently, however, the federal government articulated no new policy to replace the White Paper proposals. In the absence of clear new direction, it now seems probable that the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) has not been diverted to any significant degree from its original White Paper orientation. Indeed, both Indian people[1] and the Manitoba government suspect that the White Paper *is* being implemented through federal piecemeal attrition and deliberate action. Certainly the analysis presented in the preceding chapters of this paper indicates there is ample evidence to support the claim that important provisions of the White Paper are well advanced in their implementation. We have demonstrated how, in fiscal terms, the federal government has 'unloaded' federal responsibilities for Indian health, education and welfare onto the Manitoba government or the province's municipal governments and local school boards.

The Indian people, through the MIB and the Manitoba government, have rejected the federal proposition that any Indian person who steps across the boundary of his reserve immediately becomes a provincial responsibility. Nevertheless, the federal government has made it clear, in public statements and in correspondence with the provincial government, that it proposes to continue to move away from responsibilities to Indian people who move off the reserves. This intention applies particularly in Winnipeg, where the federal government has virtually ignored any responsibility for status Indians. That government has stated that an increasing number of Indians "fall outside the program jurisdiction of Indian Affairs by virtue of living off reserves."[2]

The federal government's withdrawal of its services has left urban Indians caught between two conflicting jurisdictions. The real losers in this dispute are the Indian people who are left to depend on the more limited resources of provincial and municipal governments. The result is that even social needs are not being adequately met. There are no co-ordinated comprehensive programs to deal with the needs of Indian people in areas of housing, vocational training, job training, or a myriad of other services which Indian people urgently need when they migrate to a city. There appears to be very little understanding, at either the provincial or the federal level, of how the urbanization process affects Indian people, the possible future consequences of the Native-urbanization trend, and the interrelation between living conditions on reserves and the terrible handicaps with which many Indian people come to the cities.

Present Trends

Population Growth of Status Indians

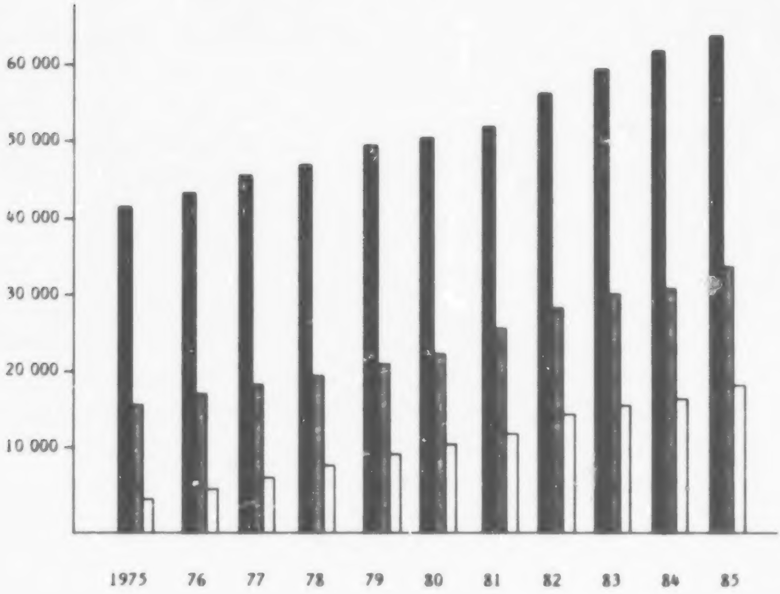
The present population of status Indians is growing rapidly, and the rate of growth is expected to continue. In spite of recent reductions in the birth rates per 1000 women of child-bearing age, the present population pyramid, with over 50 per cent of the population under fifteen years of age, virtually guarantees a population-growth rate for status Indians of 4 per cent per year over the next decade and longer. With a 1975 year-end count of 42 000 status Indians, this means an increase of 9000 persons per year, to a total of 51 000 persons by the end of 1980. By 1985 Manitoba's status Indians are expected to total 62 000 persons.

A second factor to consider when examining Manitoba's status-Indian population is that Winnipeg is the catchment area for Indians in the process of urbanization. Significant portions of north-western Ontario, north-eastern Saskatchewan, and the eastern Northwest Territories may be included in the Winnipeg catchment area. If urbanization of Native people increases as anticipated, the population growth in these areas may swell the number of status Indians and Inuit living in Winnipeg and in other cities of Manitoba. This population growth, given the present population pyramid, will demand the creation of another 8000 jobs in areas where the Indians live, in addition to the 5000 presently needed to reduce unemployment. It will require the building of housing and schools in urban areas. Finally, given the dimensions of poverty outlined above, it will lead to sharply increased costs for health care and other social services. Table 7:1 demonstrates projected population growth and projected job requirements for Manitoba's status Indians.

Urbanization

There are many indications that the rate of urbanization among status Indians is increasing. Indeed, it can be expected that the reserve

Figure 7:1 Growth of Population and Job Requirements for Manitoba's Status Indians



■ Estimated total status-Indian population.

▨ Estimated status-Indian urban population.

☐ Estimated jobs required for total urban, rural and northern status-Indian population.

population will not grow, and that the urban growth in Winnipeg, Brandon, Thompson, Selkirk, Portage la Prairie, The Pas and other smaller towns will equal the population growth that presently stands at about 1700 persons per year. Though the reasons, economic or other, for Native urbanization have not been clearly documented, it is virtually certain that there will be a doubling of Winnipeg's status-Indian and Métis population between 1975 and 1985, even if massive northern- and rural-development programs should be launched now. This urbanization phenomenon will have many facets of significance to Manitoba in connection with its provision of government services to status Indians. The most important features of this trend will be that:

- A large percentage of the migrants entering Manitoba's cities will have difficulty in establishing themselves. In addition to experiencing general problems related to the transition from rural to urban life, they will encounter prejudice and difficulty in finding employment and housing. Lack of formal education, poor health, and their state of poverty on entering the city will all be contributing factors. There will be a heavy demand on provincial and municipal social services and, if these fail, on the systems of protection and justice.
- Given that the reasons for urban migration are in part, or even primarily, economic, the provincial and federal governments will be faced with the need to decide to what degree they will direct and encourage development programs in northern and rural areas or in urban areas; their decisions will certainly affect the total migration flow. The cost-benefits of both types of development (northern and rural or urban) must be weighed both in net terms and against each other.
- By 1985, one half of Manitoba's status-Indian population will be urbanized. For all these people, their special status with the federal

government will, in effect, be lost unless measures are taken to develop a continuing federal responsibility, to be expressed in concrete terms, to support programs and fiscal requirements.

Federal-Provincial Negotiations

The primary concern in the area of federal-provincial negotiations must be the federal disavowal of responsibility for Indians living off reserves. Moreover, the federal government is adopting a number of other changes in addition to this shift of policy. First, delivery of programs is being progressively switched from DIAND to other departments such as Canada Employment, the Departments of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE), Secretary of State, and Health and Welfare. This change involves status Indians to a greater degree in programs which, though they may utilize common institutions, such as colleges, hospitals and industry, are not specifically tailored to meet their needs. Secondly there are many areas in which the federal government is encouraging the provinces to develop programs that specifically include status Indians as a part of the target population; these areas include education at all levels, health, DREE, and other development agreements. Finally, there are areas, such as child welfare, innovative post-secondary training, transportation, and some health services, where the level of federal programming on reserves has been so low that the provincial government is stepping in to fill the gap. Together, these federal measures show the federal government's desire to move rapidly away from programs specifically related to the special status of Indians. Attendant on this federal strategy is greatly increased provincial involvement with, and responsibility for, status Indians.

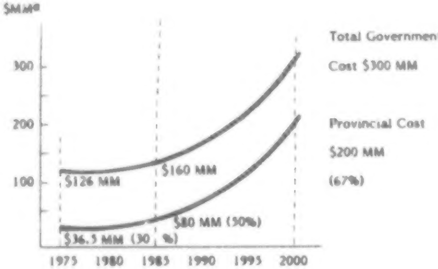
Fiscal Analysis

In combination, these trends have a profound effect on total costs, and an even greater effect on the provincial cost of maintaining services to Native people. The elements of the combined effects are:

- A 50-per cent increase in Manitoba's Indian population
- Because of the reinforcing interrelationships of poverty, a larger percentage of citizens receiving exceptional services
- Because of federal strategy, by 1985, 50 per cent of Manitoba's Indian population will not be covered by special federal funds; in addition, there will be a more extensive array of provincial services available to the remainder of that group, and all of the additional services will require support from provincial funds.

It is estimated that by the turn of the century, approximately 70 per cent of a total government cost of about $300 million (in constant dollars) will fall upon Manitoba's provincial government. Thus the provincial cost of providing necessary services to status Indians is expected to increase five times to a total of over $200 million over the period from 1975 to 2000. (See Table 7:2.) These assumptions are based on present trends and may be affected by successful social and economic development and by renegotiating the contributions from federal funds.

Figure 7:2 Social Services Costs Applicable to Status Indians: A Twenty-Five-Year Projection in Constant 1980 Dollars



Note

a. It is assumed that present trends will continue.

Emerging Trends

The State of Poverty of Indians in Manitoba

From the time of arrival of the first Euro-Canadian settlers, the undirected development of prairie and northern Canadian land has set in motion a chain of detrimental events that have affected many Native people. The result has been a large Native group trapped in a culture of poverty, laden with human misery, and creating heavy costs for the society that has had to provide social services. This process has not yet stopped. Indeed, it is still accelerating. Nor can it be expected to stop until the private and public developments that lie at the source of the cycle are used to bring that cycle to an end, and until steps are taken to alleviate the problems of rural, northern and urban Natives who have been caught in the 'poverty chain'.

Too often planners take a somewhat myopic view of Native problems, concentrating on one or a few secondary aspects of those problems while ignoring their causes, the extent of the handicaps they produce, and the interrelationships of the factors common in a milieu of deprivation. These relationships develop and are strengthened through successive generations. The reinforcing pattern of interrelated conditions surrounding poverty progressively affects the family and especially the infant and child. The latter group's chances of obtaining a satisfying place in society decrease with each generation, and thus the social consequences fall more and more heavily as the years go by unless successful intervention occurs, or the impoverished group, as an entity, acquires the power that can effect change from within.

Current and Future Policy and Program Considerations

The material in the previous sections leads one to consider five main issues for current and future provincial-federal or federal-provincial-Native negotiations that affect Manitoba's status-Indian population. Some of these negotiations are currently proceeding as the parties deal with a variety of the agreements that are presently in effect or are being contemplated in various areas of provincial service. Given the importance of the special status of Indians in relation to the federal government, the exceptional costs involved in providing services for these people and the extreme poverty situation of the Indian population, it is imperative that action be taken at both levels of government to develop practical policies and programs to meet the needs of Indian people. The preceding pages provide a shocking and depressing catalogue of personal tragedy, social scandal and political failure. It will be necessary for the governments, with the involvement of Indian people, to develop programs that will provide adequate services and clearly delineate the responsibilities of all parties. The five issues detailed below are currently being debated in Manitoba and will likely form the main subjects for the discussions and negotiations that must take place in the near future.

Historic Federal Constitutional Responsibilities

Under treaties or through aboriginal entitlement, the federal government assumed responsibility for maintaining the rights and safeguarding the welfare of status Indians. Through the reserve system, an extensive variety of programs has been provided. It is not right morally, let alone legally, for the federal government to withdraw its support from these people as they move to adapt themselves, their culture and their society to the culture and society of Canada as a whole. Native Canadians must not be left standing on the lowest rungs of our urban society's ladder. The case will be made that the provincial governments cannot assume sole responsibility for the further progress of their Indian citizens, since they have neither the constitutional responsibility nor the financial means for the job. The provincial governments can and should use their programs to assist Native people, and may act as agents in the delivery of programs.

Exceptional Costs

All parties involved must recognize the exceptional costs of providing virtually all programs relating to the needs of Native Canadians because of the pervasive effects of their culture of poverty. Health, education, job-training, social assistance, housing, and other programming will all incur per person costs that are at least five times higher than normal, for remedial, preventive and developmental work.

Imperatives in Economic and Social Development

Economic and social development are two parts of the same process. Progress in one area is accompanied by progress in the other. The economic and social development of status Indians must become an imperative of the first magnitude for Canadian governments. Added to the traditional government concern for the welfare of its citizens are the economic interest and the cost savings possible through the trade-off of incurring effective development expenditures to reduce the exceptional costs of poverty-maintenance programs. Studies show that the exceptional social costs related to maintaining poverty tend to double in constant dollars with each generation because of increasing numbers in the group involved. This development creates ever more pervasive problems because, through the operation of social dynamics, it reinforces interrelationships and draws in more people from the fringe of the original group. This development is not inevitable, however, if change evolves through effective intervention, or if the impoverished group acquires the power to effect change from within through adopting a revolutionary attitude.

Effective development expenditures *may* show a positive trade-off in the form of reduced exceptional social costs, despite higher development expenditures during the initial operating period of new programs, but often this does not happen. The most substantial benefits occur in the second generation because the anticipated increase in costs of social programming trade-off will be affected by each of the following factors:

- Productivity gained
- Necessary operating subsidies
- Reduction in exceptional costs in relation to the numbers of people serviced and the extent of services.

Development expenditures are not likely to show positive trade-offs if productivity is low (for example, the return on marginal fishing or trapping); if the program (for example, heavy industry) is capital intensive rather than labour intensive; if the project is allowed to use a large proportion of imported labour; or if the project skims the target group, choosing only its most employable members rather than a cross-section. Government expenditures on status Indians are already double the average amount spent on other Canadians. About $60 000 000 is being spent annually on exceptional costs for Manitoba's status Indians. Surely this figure indicates the need to initiate major development programs. Although the initiation of such programs will necessitate the addition of considerable funding, in the short term, to present social costs, nevertheless, it is imperative that government financing be found for developmental work.

Urban Imperatives

By 1985 one half of Manitoba's Native population is likely to live in Winnipeg and in other cities within the province. Demands will be high for protective, health, and other social service programs at the municipal level. It is imperative that the cities plan for this in-migration, and that they acquire the fiscal capacity, through arrangements with senior governments, to carry out their responsibilities. It will also be necessary to provide that combination of economic and social-development programming discussed above, in urban as well as in rural and northern centres. The cost-benefit trade-off must be made, not only in terms of individual programs, but also between urban and other programs; this trade-off will affect the province's migration patterns.

It is important that both maintenance and developmental programs be adequate in urban areas, for interrelationships of cause and effect develop much more quickly to pervade the life of the migrating poor in the crowded and alien conditions of urban life than in less populous areas. Given the rate of urban in-migration, Manitoba has no time for lengthy jurisdictional wrangles before resolving its urban problems.

Administrative Jurisdictional Change

The analysis of programs shows the meagre degree to which Natives are involved in the development and implementation of programs that affect them. The objective of development programs is to take a group from a large measure of dependency to independence or inter-dependence that is similar to the life-style of the rest of society. Involvement is the most suitable method of developing the knowledge and skills necessary to achieve this objective. This approach is promoted by the Canadian Council on Rural Development in its study, *A Development Strategy for the Mid-North of Canada.* It is the basis for innovative programming in several provincial departments such as Education, Northern Affairs, Agriculture and Resources. Its importance has been recognized by provincial group developers of planning for northern communities. Finally, it receives the strongest endorsement from all Native groups involved with present programs.

For these reasons and for reasons of effectiveness and efficiency, it is desirable to involve status Indians and other Native people in all phases of program development, from planning to implementation. This line of action is necessary if the mistakes of the past are to be avoided. The past ten years of circular debate and jurisdictional squabbling have permitted the situation of Manitoba's Indians to become progressively worse. If we have ten more years of inconclusive action, the results, in human terms, will be too disastrous to contemplate.

Notes

1. National Indian Brotherhood, *The Position Paper on Education*, February 1975, contained the following comment:

> Education Assistance to Off-Reserve Indians
>
> Mr. Chrétien accepted the policy which states that the Federal Government is financially responsible "to provide education to all status Indian people, whether living on or off reserves." This has not been the practice of the Department. It is generally understood by district, regional and headquarters officials that Indians living off reserves are no longer the responsibility of the Federal Government. In this case, the Treaties, not the Indian Act, are being interpreted by public servants. The authority for doing this should be examined as well as the negotiations between Federal and provincial officials which established this situation. Recent recommendations made by Regional Directors show a determination to phase out Indian Affairs services to off-reserve Indians.

2. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Survey of Indian Conditions* (Ottawa: The Department, 1980), p. 147.

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Government Policies and Programs Relating to People of Indian Ancestry in Saskatchewan

David L. Anderson

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I: Introduction

Overview

The primary purpose of this study is to describe and assess governmental initiatives towards Saskatchewan's urban Native people from the early 1960s until June 1980. In the following sections, I shall explore government responses and initiatives in five policy areas: manpower training, employment and economic development; education; law and justice; health, welfare and housing; and social and political organization. Before proceeding with an investigation of activities in each of these five major policy areas, however, there are several important characteristics of the study to be considered. First, it is crucial that the reader be aware that the research methodology employed is largely impressionistic: documents were reviewed, interviews held with public officials and selected members of the Native community, and perceptions formed of the various programs under scrutiny. Hence the reader should view this work as an exploratory study of selected aspects of government programming.

The second characteristic pertains to the value set employed in judging program success or failure. Although I have held discussions with some members of the Native community, I have not attempted to judge the merits of programs from their perspective. I decided not to do so for one simple reason: it is exceedingly difficult, if not pretentious, for a non-Native to claim a thorough understanding of the underlying objectives of Indian and Métis/non-status-Indian people. Instead, I deemed it expedient to evaluate programs on the assumption that government policies are directed towards one overall objective: the improvement of Native/non-Native relations as viewed by the general public.

The primary rationale for selecting this particular program indicator is that it is thought to approximate closely the underlying objectives of governments when initiating activities with the purported purpose of benefitting Native people. Obviously, the views of Indian and Métis/non-status-Indian citizens are relevant to any attempt to judge success based on this modest criterion, but equally important, from a crude political perspective, are the preferences of the non-Native community. Although some members of this group may, for altruistic reasons, wish to improve the relative and absolute position of Native people, the majority are usually perceived by politicians to be motivated more by pragmatic concerns: a desire to live in a community largely free from racial strife, crime, and other forms of unpleasantness that frequently lead to insecurity and fear. Happily, successful pursuit of relatively harmonious Native/non-Native relations should lead to an improvement in the human condition of Native people.[1] However, the level of Native community welfare attained is likely to fall below that generated by a set of policies facilitating Native self-determination.

The third characteristic relates to the validity of the data employed throughout this study. What gives rise to this issue is the absence of a generally accepted operational definition of a Native person.[2] In practice, the prevailing approach in Saskatchewan is to adopt the Treaty Indian, Métis/non-status, and non-Native classification system. A Treaty Indian is readily defined as anyone whose name appears on one of the Band Lists maintained by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). Technically, anyone else claiming Indian ancestry is to be included in the Métis/non-status classification.[3] Although somewhat open-ended, this approach does allow for individual self-disclosure and, hence, the potential assessment of the size of the Native community.

Unfortunately, Canada stopped collecting census data on the Métis/non-status people in 1941 and, thus, an accurate count of this group is not available.[4] The problem is further complicated by the fact that few government agencies attempt to determine the ethnic background of their clients. In fact, some provincial government departments and agencies did collect such data until the early 1970s; they stopped, however, when it became unfashionable, if not illegal, to do so. Consequently, generally accepted estimates of the Saskatchewan Métis/non-status people do not exist. The figures that are employed are so disparate that they are of limited value for policy planning. Hence it is exceedingly difficult to design and monitor policies that are meant to address social injustices in such areas as unemployment, tax sharing, and land claims.

Influence and Role of the Social Planning Secretariat

Although the role of any agency may be considered in any of the policy areas upon which it impinges, there are some government initiatives and structures that are difficult to address in this manner. In Saskatchewan there are two provincial government thrusts in the area of Native policy that should be reviewed before we proceed to individual policy fields. The first of these was the Liberal government's attempt in 1969-1970 to improve the position of the province's Native people. In order to pursue its objectives, the Thatcher government formed the Indian and Métis Department. Anyone who reads this department's 1969-1970 Annual Report is quickly alerted to the fact that many of the recent policies and programs of the Blakeney government are not new. Although the author suspects that the 1969-1970 and 1979-1980 initiatives are quite different from each other with respect to the level of political commitment and other critical factors, one can readily see the source of pessimism regarding them on the part of the Native community: many of the promises have been made before, but have not been acted upon.

In order to illustrate the latter statement, let us address some of the objectives of the Indian and Métis Department and the Department of Education during the 1969-1971 period. The former organization[5] initiated an employment program to ensure that Native people comprised the same percentage of the provincial public service as they did of the labour force. The program was intended to initiate significant economic development opportunities for Natives, including the fostering of businesses owned by people of Indian ancestry; it was also intended to foster relevant training programs to ensure that these opportunities could be usefully exploited. The Department of Education, as it outlined in its annual reports of the early 1970s, focused on the need to reshape educational programs for Native people. The Reports stressed the irrelevancy of the curriculum for Native children; they acknowledged the need for Native teachers and related personnel; they declared the importance of having the Native community, especially the parents, contribute to the educational process.

In many respects, the Thatcher government's Native program was remarkably innovative for its time. Although it clearly had design faults, it represented a highly visible program designed to benefit a disadvantaged group. Of significance is the fact that it represented the only public declaration, prior to the 1979 Blakeney government's activities, that the plight of Native people was something more than a 'poverty problem'. The Thatcher regime explicitly recognized that elements of systemic discrimination prevailed and, hence, that an affirmative action program was required to alleviate the employment problem.[6] Indeed, some observers have suggested that these initiatives, albeit modest in nature, were viewed with suspicion by the non-Native community and were possibly a factor in the Thatcher government's 1971 political defeat.

In contrast, although the Blakeney government has a reputation for social programming and a concern for income distribution, it wasted little time in playing down Native issues on coming into office in 1971. For example, the Indian and Métis Department was terminated shortly after the New Democratic Party returned to power in 1971, and the Department of Education quickly shifted its policy emphasis. Indeed, it is difficult to find more than a few paragraphs relating to Native programming in that Department's annual reports from 1972-1973 until 1979-1980.

Although it is only in the post-1978 period that we find strong public pronouncements by the government on Native poverty and related issues, behind-the-scenes recognition of the need for action goes back at least to the 1975-1976 period, when the provincial Treasury Board asked the Budget Bureau to prepare a major policy document outlining the basic issues. This document was completed in early 1976 and was followed by activity within the Premier's Office (Executive Council). The result was the Cabinet's recognition that the urban Native issue had to be addressed in a serious manner. Given the Blakeney government's predilection for planning,[7] it is not surprising that in early 1978 a small, but highly competent, group was quietly set up: the Social Planning Secretariat (SPS). The Secretariat was headed by one of the Blakeney government's more promising Deputy Ministers and reported to a committed Minister whose own constituency exhibited many of the worst characteristics of the urban Native's plight. Possibly of even greater significance was the Premier's commitment to the policy thrust and his well-recognized understanding of the basic issues.[8]

As the political debate progressed, concerns were expressed about potential unrest and the possibility of violence.[9] This could, of course, lead to an adverse non-Native-voter reaction; for evidence of this possibility one has only to examine the power base of the Blakeney government and to note that it has historically obtained strong support in the poorer areas of the major centres in Saskatchewan. Hence, any action to undermine this base had to be resisted. It is quite possible, however, that the government, in its decision to act and by approving most of the Social Planning Secretariat's program proposals, as well as by implementing a strong Human Rights Code, has outdistanced the voters, especially those belonging to certain elements of its natural support base. Although one might be inclined to view the step taken by the government as a benevolent act intended to correct a basic, perceived, social injustice, one could also argue that the Premier and his colleagues realized that the longer-term risks to their political fortunes generated by inaction clearly outweighed the expected costs associated with the innovative program announced in 1980.

Let us now explore some of the early actions of the Social Planning Secretariat; this discussion will be restricted to the overall thrust of the SPS, with the specifics being delayed for the individual policy areas. Although emphasis on the activities of the SPS might seem out of order, an understanding of this group's role is of critical importance in gaining an overall appreciation of the factors underlying the province's Urban Native Package.[10]

Upon commencing its activities in 1978, SPS concentrated on developing a conceptual framework for addressing its target group: urban Native people. In February 1979 it moved into a more visible position by disseminating to interest groups a paper on the nature of urban poverty.[11] Following a rather typical anti-poverty format, the SPS identified three primary factors as causing urban Native poverty: lack of education; lack of training and unemployment; and discrimination. In addition, four secondary factors were identified, although they may be more appropriately viewed as manifestations of poverty rather than as casual factors. They are: housing, health, human justice, and social participation.

In a second paper,[12] distributed in May 1979, the Secretariat laid out a proposed plan of attack. After receiving feedback from some elements of the Native community, it presented a detailed submission to the provincial Treasury Board in September 1979; subsequently it also made a submission to the Cabinet Social Planning Committee and, in early 1980, to Cabinet itself. Most of the Secretariat's proposals were ultimately embodied in the 1980-1981 Budget Speech, where they were denoted as the 'Urban Native Package'.

The level of provincial funding of the program in 1980-1981 is presented in Table 1:1. As indicated, the level of effort, measured from an expenditure perspective, is exceedingly modest, given the magnitude of the problem. Indeed, immediately after the Budget Speech, mention was made of the fact that $6 million of incremental funding was rather a paltry sum, considering the task at hand; the provincial government responded by focusing on the $31 million in programming specifically directed to Natives and vaguely suggested that expenditures would increase over time. Indeed, substantially more funds are expended on Native people as evidenced by the unpublished data prepared by the Planning Secretariat of the Department of Social Services in early 1979.[13]

Table 1:1 Summary of Saskatchewan Government's Native Programming [a]

	1979-1980 Funding $(000)	*1980-1981 Incremental Funding $(000)*	*1980-1981 New Program Funding $(000)*	*1980-1981 Total Funding $(000)*
Education	$1 648	$ 14	$1 557	$3 219
Employment and Economic Development	8 592	62	1 818	10 472
Housing	4 146	4 671	1 000	9 817
Support Services	3 521	161	730	4 412
Funding to Indian and Native Groups	2 230	57	910	3 196
	$20 137	$4 965	$6 015	$31 116

Note

a. Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat.

Although it is too early to judge the success of the Urban Native Package, a few general objections have been raised. The first of these is the lack of consultation with Native groups in the program-formulation stage; the second is dismay over the limited amount of incremental funding. The former charge appears to have some substance. For example, both the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians and Regina Native Women have publicly complained about lack of consultation with Native people in the development of the province's new policies.[14] The charge that the level of funding is inadequate clearly has merit, at least in the short term. As the program moved through key stages in 1979 and early 1980, the provincial government gave the impression that this would be a 'serious' effort. In fact, several press reports appeared, purportedly based on inside information, which suggested that approximately five hundred million dollars would be expended over five years on urban Native programming.[15] Hence, expectations in the Native community were unduly raised, and it is natural that Native people were dismayed with the paltry $6 to $11 million of incremental funding mentioned in the Budget Speech. It is unfortunate that the Urban Native Package got off to such a troubled start, since it adds credibility to the position of those who question the sincerity of the provincial government's efforts to help the Native community.

Jurisdictional Issues

The jurisdictional dispute between the Indians and the governments of Canada and Saskatchewan is not unique to Saskatchewan and hence is addressed elsewhere in the book. However, there are a few attributes relating specifically to Saskatchewan that should be brought out prior to addressing the policy fields.

The special relationship between the federal government and Canada's Treaty Indian people is widely acknowledged. This relationship based on the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the various treaties with Native groups, the British North America Act, and the Indian Act. However, interpretation of the nature of the relationship is in dispute. The 1969 White Paper[16] recommended the gradual phase-out of DIAND's direct service role; one implication of this recommendation was that urban Native people would become primarily a provincial responsibility. Although the White Paper has been officially rejected, many observers suggest that, *de facto*, part of it has gradually been implemented by DIAND.

The province of Saskatchewan officially supports the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI) position of federal government responsibility for the provision of services to Indian people regardless of place of residence. The province's official position is that it will provide requested services, but that full reimbursement must ultimately be made by the federal government.[17] The operational rule is that after one year of urban dwelling, Indian people become a provincial rather than a federal responsibility.

Although the jurisdictional conflict theoretically touches on all areas of Indian/government relations, it is most severe in the social services, health, housing, and educational domains. Each of these policy fields will be addressed during the course of this study.

Selection of the City of Regina

In order to bring all three levels of government into the picture, an urban municipality with a significant Indian population must be selected for study. In Saskatchewan this narrows the choice to one of four locations: Regina, Saskatoon, Prince Albert and North Battleford. The last two cities were rejected because of their small size and, hence, the choice was between the province's two largest cities. Undoubtedly, Saskatoon has a better reputation than Regina for its race-relations activities.[18] Although some would try to relate this fact to bigotry on the part of Regina's non-Native population and to superior Native and municipal leadership in Saskatoon, other factors may be at work. Probably the most important of these is that Regina has approximately twice as many residents of Indian ancestry as Saskatoon, though the cities are of roughly comparable size. In summary, because of the population differentials and the public perception of Regina as a racially troubled city, it was decided to focus on this centre. To choose Saskatoon would leave one open to charges of deliberately trying to minimize the nature of the Native/non-Native conflict in Saskatchewan.

Notes

1. Indeed, it is only through an improvement in the economic, social and political well-being of Native people that the degree of alienation they feel for mainstream society may be reduced.
2. As has been clearly shown in J.E. Foster, "The Metis: The People and the Term", *Prairie Forum* 3 (1978): 79-90.
3. For more precise definitions, see Melanie Lautt, "Natives and Justice: A Topic Requiring Research Priority?" in Dorothy Hepworth (ed.), *Explorations in Prairie Justice Research* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1979) and James S. Frideres, *Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1974).
4. See W.B. Fritz, "Estimating the Size of the Métis Population in Saskatchewan" (North Battleford, Sask., 1976).
5. For a discussion of the Indian and Métis Department's proposed activities, see Saskatchewan, Indian and Métis Department, *Annual Report 1969-70* (Regina, 1970).
6. The nature of affirmative action schemes will be discussed in Section 2, below.

7. Larry Pratt and John Richards, *Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979).
8. The Premier's own constituency contains a large Native population.
9. Although the provincial government has never publicly expressed this view, a well-recognized possibility undoubtedly exists. For instance, as it might apply to Regina, it has been discussed by Ken Svenson, "The Explosive Years: Indian and Métis Issues in Saskatchewan to 2001" (unpublished report available from Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Saskatchewan Region, Regina, December 1978).
10. Most of the program elements will be discussed in this report. However, further details may be found in Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Saskatchewan Urban Native and Indian Poverty"; speeches by the Honourable Walter E. Smishek, Minister of Municipal Affairs (Urban), *Debates and Proceedings* (Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, N.S. Vol. XXII, No. 21B, 20 March 1980), pp. 869-72; and the Honourable Douglas F. McArthur, Minister of Education, *Debates and Proceedings* (Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, N.S. Vol. XXII, No. 19A, 18 March 1980), pp. 712-25.
11. Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "The Dimensions of Indian and Native Urban Poverty in Saskatchewan" (Regina: Social Planning Secretariat, 1979).
12. Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Attacking Urban Native Poverty: Alternative Government Responses" (Regina: Social Planning Secretariat, 1979).
13. Obtained from internal documents prepared by the Planning Secretariat, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services, 1979.
14. Chief Sol Sanderson's objections were reported in the Regina *Leader Post*, 14 March 1980, p. 3: "Sanderson criticized the provincial government's Social Planning Secretariat for not consulting the FSI

when drawing up the policy." In a similar vein, Regina Native Women, in their January 1980 brief to the Social Planning Secretariat stated:

> This brief is prepared by the Regina Native Women's Association in response to the Social Planning Secretariat's two position papers. Our board recently reviewed these position papers to develop this response. We regret the delay in doing so, however, we have only recently become aware of the Social Planning Secretariat's policy and purpose and the degree to which it will affect our programming. (P. 1.)

This statement is important in that by January 1980, the Urban Native Package was being presented to the Provincial Cabinet; in other words, the policy had already been developed by the time that Regina Native Women assert that they first became involved.

15. A conflict of some importance developed between the Minister responsible for the Social Planning Secretariat and the media over the authenticity and source of this information. For details, see the following issues of the Regina *Leader Post*: 7 September 1979, p. 3; 8 September 1979, p. 4; and 20 September 1979, p. 3.
16. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, "The New Indian Policy" (Ottawa, July 1969).
17. For a concise review of the Saskatchewan position, see the Honourable Gordon MacMurchy, *Address to Federation of Saskatchewan Indians All Chiefs Conference*, Saskatoon, 17 October 1979.
18. Several studies have been undertaken on selected aspects of Native life in Saskatoon. Among the more interesting and thorough are: Edgar J. Dosman, *Indians: The Urban Dilemma* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972); Angus Reid and Sheila Fruman,

Social Development, Local Control and the Native Community: Programs in the Metis Society of Saskatoon (Saskatoon: Métis Society of Saskatoon, November 1977); and Ronald Fisher and Harold McNabb, "A Social Services Planning Approach to Native/Non-Native Relations in Saskatoon" (Saskatoon, June 1979).

2: Manpower Training, Employment and Economic Development

Manpower Training and Employment

Although there is a paucity of reliable data, certain reports suggest that approximately 40 per cent to 60 per cent of Saskatchewan's potential urban-Native work-force is without gainful employment at any given time.[1] Unemployment rates on the reserves are even higher, often reaching 80 per cent or more.

Not only are participation rates for Natives unusually low, but those who do work are generally found in positions with one or more of the following characteristics: low pay, low skill, seasonal or temporary employment, and low status.[2] For supporting evidence, see Table 2:1, which is based on data obtained by the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI) in their 1977-78 off-reserve survey. As one might expect, the type of employment generally offered to Native people does not lend itself to job stability. This perception is also confirmed by other findings of the FSI's survey of 1978; for instance, approximately 60 per cent of the Indian males employed at the time of the survey had been with their current employer for less than one year. According to one author, the Saskatchewan-wide average is in the order of 20 per cent or 25 per cent.[3]

Table 2:1 Occupations and Occupational Preferences of Saskatchewan Male Indians in 1977/1978[a]

Occupations	*Percentage of Native Labour Force*	*Occupational Preference*
Administrative & Supervisory	1.6	2.4
Professional & Technical	4.5	8.6
Recreation	1.8	2.4
Education	2.6	5.4
Social Work & Counselling	7.3	11.6
Building Trades	18.1	22.2
Mechanic & Related Work	1.3	7.3
Transportation (Driving)	4.5	3.5
Security	2.6	2.4
Labor Operations	39.6	18.4
Farm-Related Work	4.7	3.8
Other	11.3	11.9
Totals	99.9	99.9

Note

a. Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, *Survey of Band Members Living Off Reserve* (Prince Albert: Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, 1978), pp. 49, 53.

Another way of approaching the subject of Native employment is to examine the hiring practices of employers. Such a survey was undertaken in 1977 by a Regina church group;[4] it found that Native employees constituted only 1.8 per cent of the work-force of the employers responding to its survey. A later survey of thirteen major Regina employers, conducted by Northern Development Resources Ltd.,[5] found that less than 0.5 per cent of the respondents' labour force were people of Indian ancestry. The results of these studies are rather revealing, especially when one considers that during the survey period, Native people were reported to constitute approximately 6 per cent to 9 per cent of Regina's potential labour force.[6]

In fairness, it should be noted that many employers stated that they received few applications from Native people. As one might expect, the result is a vicious circle: to a Native person seeking employment, an employer without Native staff is readily identified as one to avoid, since they suppose he 'will not' hire Natives. Hence unemployment, even if initially attributable to non-discriminatory factors, is a self-reinforcing phenomenon.

Labour Markets

Before we move into a review of programs, it is important to set out a conceptual framework for a labour-market analysis. One can divide the field into two broad areas: supply and demand. Traditionally, the supply side has been stressed by policy makers attempting to alleviate long-term unemployment among Natives. That is to say, the inability of Native people to find employment has generally been attributed to educational and training deficiencies.

Insufficient education not only precludes employment in many sectors, but also precludes admission into many training courses. However, a cursory examination of Native-employment experience suggests that even when formal educational levels have been attained, participation rates in training programs are depressingly low. In addition, many Native people suffer from insufficient knowledge of job-search and interview techniques and a general lack of job readiness. Nevertheless, other factors may be at work.[7] For instance, suppose that there were to be a dramatic rise in the general educational and skill level of Native people. Would this advance necessarily lead to an improved employment record for this group?

At an even more basic level, one should try to explain why Native people are under-represented at the low-skill end of the occupational structure. The search for an explanation leads one to consider the demand side of the labour market. Clearly, imperfections exist in the labour market, where factors other than labour productivity appear to be at work. For instance, the 'old boy' network is a highly effective asset in the job-search experience at all levels of the economy, not just at the levels of middle and senior management. Other forms of restrictive entry to the labour market may apply; most of these can be classified as 'systemic' discrimination.

The literature on systemic, or overt, discrimination suggests that the most serious bias is generated by artificial barriers-to-entry that are designed to foster the self-interest of one particular group, and not deliberately to injure another, for example Native people. One common manifestation of this problem is the widespread use of unrealistically high educational requirements relative to the skill levels required for satisfactory job performance. Even more insidious is the constant upward shift in minimum education levels that frequently are not job-related, but are imposed largely to heighten a group's prestige and, hence, its bargaining position. The results of such action are extremely frustrating for Native people.

Another example of systemic discrimination is generated by the widespread use of internal labour markets.[8] Under such a scheme, higher-level jobs are filled from within the organization. This forces applicants through the entry-level route, and hence may lead to frustration on the part of those who have acquired the necessary training for higher-level positions, but cannot effectively compete for those positions. This method of job selection is quite rational from an individual employer's perspective and from the eligible employee's position, as well; indeed, unions are often the strongest supporters of such a scheme. However, the method, when considered in conjunction with the use of 'seniority' as an important promotion criterion, effectively precludes the rapid rectification of the underrepresentation of Native people in a large number of occupations.

In response to a widespread belief that part of the difficulty faced by Native people in the labour market is attributable to systemic discrimination, policy makers are increasingly resorting to 'affirmative action' employment programs. Affirmative action has been defined as "deliberate and positive efforts on the part of institutions to rectify existing inequities that result from past discrimination."[9] The initiation of such a policy acts to persuade and, if necessary, to force employers, unions and other labour-market participants, to alter their practices that lead, unintentionally, to systemic discrimination. However, affirmative action programs will not alleviate the Native-employment problem if significant barriers to eligibility for employment remain. Only those Natives who possess adequate pre-employment education or training, and who can adjust easily to the modern workplace, will be able to take advantage of the job openings created by an aggressive affirmative-action program. Forced employment of ill-equipped people will ultimately lead to declining public support for such initiatives. Hence it is clear that remedial action requires an attack on both the problems of systemic discrimination and the less glamorous areas of insufficient individual skills, through training, work adjustment, and basic educational upgrading. This view is frequently taken by Native groups themselves; for example, the Regina Native Women's Association in a brief to the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission states:

> Because of the education system's failure to provide a meaningful education to our people, we must stress that quality education and training are necessary if affirmative action is to succeed. This training must meet the needs of our people.[10]

One of the more traditional and obvious approaches to widespread unemployment experienced by any group is to suggest the creation of job opportunities. Admittedly there are not a sufficient number of jobs for all would-be workers, but this approach ignores the distributional problem inherent in labour-force data: that is, that Native people, as a group, suffer from disproportionately high unemployment rates. For this reason it has been suggested[11] that policy makers, when addressing Native employment in Saskatchewan, should focus less on the creation of additional jobs and place more emphasis on job-related training and the redistribution of those positions that already exist. The suggested course of action leads one back to the issue of systemic discrimination.

On closer examination, it is clear that most, if not all, of the action that passes for job creation is, in fact, short-term work-adjustment and confidence-building activity. Projects are initiated, not with the intention of creating a viable business or longer-term employment, but, instead, to reduce social unrest and provide some work experience to people who would otherwise be unemployed. These projects are expected to increase the morale of the target group and, what is more important, to expose the client to the nature, expectations and responsibilities of the labour market. Therefore one should view short-term job creation as an employment 'supply-side' initiative: an attempt to improve the quality of the target group's skills. This is one of society's classic responses to the need to reduce poverty and promote social adjustment among the underpriviledged.

In summary, the 'demand-side' response focuses on racial and ethnic issues, whereas the 'supply-side' response takes the traditional form of limited anti-poverty activity. Undoubtedly, both areas must be addressed if Native people are to improve materially their relative economic position within, say, a ten- to twenty-year time span. In fact, "the Carnegie Commission of Higher Education estimated that affirmative action programs might take 50 years to achieve the goal of eliminating discrimination and disadvantage."[12] Now let us explore how governments have, in fact, addressed these employment-related issues since 1960.

Training Programs

Institutional training, as a component of education, is primarily a provincial responsibility but, nevertheless, the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) has been very active in this field. CEIC, especially in the prairies, has made Native employment training a major target. Until the late 1960s, there were no programs explicitly, or even implicitly, designed for Native people; only the numerous anti-poverty programs provided assistance.

However, by the early 1970s, basic job training, in both its institutional and on-the-job forms, was being increasingly directed towards people of Indian ancestry. Much of the emphasis was placed on job-readiness and skill-development training. Unfortunately, unless the trainees obtain employment shortly after graduation, these programs are of little more use than another make-work, transfer-payment scheme.

It is important to note that CEIC does not, itself, deliver the training courses, but, instead, contracts for 'seats' in the various classes operated under the aegis of the provincial government or in provincially approved institutions. In practice, most of the institutional training is provided by the province's technical and community colleges. Increasingly, province-approved, but Native-controlled institutions, such as the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, have been utilized in this delivery function. Unfortunately for urban Indian people, these institutions have focused on the reserves, not the urban setting.

Table 2:2 Canada Employment Training Programs in Saskatchewan for 1979/1980 by Selected Ethnic Groups[a]

Type of Training	***Native***	
	Enrollment	*% Successful*
Skill	412	66
Immigrant Language	—	—
Academic Upgrading	338	49
Job-Readiness Training	130	62
Apprentice	63	70
Totals	943	60

Note

a. Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, Saskatchewan Region.

In addition to institutional training, CEIC also contracts directly with employers to provide training-on-the job activities. This is an important area, and one that could be greatly expanded, to the benefit of urban Native people. There is a very direct reason for this contention: along with marketable employment skills, the clients also acquire the intangible assets of exposure and acclimatization to the workplace. In addition, on-the-job training allows employers to observe Native people in a work setting, and this opportunity may reduce management's hesitancy to hire Natives.

Total Trainees		*Native Enrolment as a per cent of Total Enrolment*	*Successful Natives as a % of Total Successful Trainees*
Enrollment	*% Successful*		
1 952	75	21.1	18.5
343	90	—	—
643	56	52.5	45.8
584	54	22.3	25.3
2 636	90	2.4	1.9
6 158	79	15.3	11.6

Although data is scarce, one can observe from Table 2:2 the extent of CEIC involvement in providing training to Native people in the Saskatchewan region in recent years. From this table, it is apparent that in 1979-80, 15.3 per cent of all trainees in the Employment Training Program were people of Indian ancestry, but only 11.6 per cent of the successful students were Native people. That is, only 60 per cent of Native people completed their courses successfully, compared to a total province-wide rate of 79 per cent.

Before leaving this subject, it is important to note that the plight of

Native people is reflected in an examination of the disaggregated data. Native people tend to be found, for the most part, in the academic upgrading and job-readiness training programs, which are the lower-level courses prerequisite to employment. Whereas Native people constitute 52.5 per cent of all trainees in the academic upgrading category, they only make up 2.3 per cent of the important employment-related area of apprenticeship training. It is in this latter area that significant improvements must be made if Native people are to participate more equitably in the province's economic system.

The extent of CEIC's financial involvement in training activities has been evaluated.[13] From 1 April 1978 to 31 December 1978, only 14 per cent of the Commission's Native-related expenditures were allocated to training programs; the major portion of the funds is expended, instead, on short-term job-creation programs. This phenomenon has led the evaluator to suggest that better results would be obtained if CEIC downplayed its job-creation activities and redirected a significant part of its funds into job-related industrial-training initiatives. To some extent this is about to take place, according to the announcement of June 1980 that CEIC will expand its activities in the Native-training area, placing emphasis on the "trades".[14]

With one notable exception, the provincial government's training programs have not been specifically directed towards Native people. However, the development of many educational facilities during the 1960s and early 1970s greatly increased the opportunities for Indian and Métis non-status people to obtain job-related training.

The exception mentioned above is the 'Non-Registered Indian and Métis Program' (NRIM). This program was initiated in 1969 as a vehicle whereby Métis and non-status Indian people could obtain access to training and academic classes. The federal government, through DIAND and CEIC, was providing some educational opportunities to Indians on the reserves, and it was apparent that such options were not generally available to members of the Métis/non-status Indian community. NRIM is primarily a facilitating agent, since it does not offer courses directly, but purchases places in a wide variety of programs at a wide variety of educational institutions. Financial assistance is also given to some students, under the auspices of NRIM, to facilitate further study and training. For statistical details on NRIM's past activity levels, see Table 2:3.

Although the NRIM program appears to be viewed with general approval by the Métis/non-status Indian community, certain important objections have been raised. The Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan (AMNSIS), for instance, has expressed concern that NRIM is viewed by the provincial government primarily as an adult-education program. As a result, the classes financed "have not been designed as part of a comprehensive and integrated strategy designed to improve the social and economic circumstances of Native people".[15]

Further criticisms have been levelled by the Regina Native Women's Association. It has two major concerns. First, that training allowances are insufficient, particularly for single parents; hence "sometimes it becomes a choice of remaining on welfare without the added financial worries of paying for child care, transportation, lunches and other needs".[16] Secondly the Association's members believe that much greater emphasis should be placed on management and administrative training for Native people. They perceive these areas to be of crucial importance:

> As Native programming becomes a priority to the provincial government, our own people must become aware of and trained in the management and administration areas. Without these skills and training we remain dependent upon non-Natives to manage and administer our programming.... Efforts should be made to involve women in these areas including program administration and management, financial training,

Table 2:3 Enrolment Summary of Program for non-Registered Indians and Métis, 1970/1971 to 1977/1978[a]

Type of Course	*1970/71*	*1971/72*	*1972/73*
Adult Basic Education	734	762	1 144
Vocational Preparation	65	122	173
Community Courses	26	4	267
Totals	825	888	1 584

Note

a. Saskatchewan, Department of Continuing Education.

> and other areas. While cooking and sewing classes may be important to some women, the benefits offered by training in management and administration are far too important to overlook.[17]

The NRIM program was being reviewed at the time of writing; hence it remains to be seen to what extent these objections will be taken into account.

As part of its 'Urban Native Package', the province has announced, in general terms only, a major initiative entitled 'The Native Job Training and Employment Program'. According to the Minister of Continuing Education, the program will have three components:

Year

1973/74	*1974/75*	*1975/76*	*1976/77*	*1977/78*
886	670	749	633	761
170	273	396	427	730
640	452	621	543	804
1 696	1 395	1 796	1 603	2 295

1. A native-operated recruitment or intake service, having store-front offices in the three cities of Regina, Saskatoon and Prince Albert;
2. Training services which will work closely with employers in identifying jobs, the skills needed to perform those jobs and the development of those specific skills;
3. A special commission which will serve a co-ordinating role over the program, including securing the participation of employees unions, native groups and government officials.[18]

Although the program has yet to commence operation, it would appear that it will serve a valuable purpose in the government's overall Native-employment policy. As implied by the Minister himself, the program will not only provide training to those who wish it, but will encourage the aggressive seeking out of Native people for educational upgrading and subsequent placement. Unfortunately, potential exists here for a significant degree of duplication of services provided by CEIC. Although the Social Planning Secretariat has noted this possibility, no formal collaboration with CEIC to eliminate such an outcome had been announced at the time of writing. It is to be hoped that such collaboration will occur before the program is put in place.

If duplication is kept to a minimum, the program has the potential to influence the supply side of the Indian and Métis/non-status labour market. In addition the program will serve as a process whereby a labour pool is identified for the provincial government's affirmative action programs. In summary, such a scheme is a necessary component of any long-term strategy to generate employment. In other words, it is not sufficient merely to place a 'body' in a job; a careful skill-upgrading program must be pursued simultaneously. It is encouraging that the recent Saskatchewan government initiatives clearly address both sides of the labour market.

Before leaving this general subject, we should discuss one more job-search, referral and placement service: Native Outreach. The temporary projects initiated by this organization and funded by CEIC were originally designed to provide much the same services as those to be provided by the Native Job Training and Employment Program. Native Outreach centres are staffed primarily by Native personnel and are operated by various non-profit organizations. It would appear that duplication of services and bureaucratic jealousy have resulted in the organization's loss of autonomy. One now finds the Outreach programs operating under closer scrutiny of the local Canada Employment Centre (CEC) than they did originally, with the result that the program's initial objectives are almost impossible to achieve. Although the existing Native Outreach centres may not now be flourishing under the restrictive CEIC mandate, the overall initial concept is worth preserving. In fact, the provincial 'store-front' centres would appear to be partially based on the original design of the Native Outreach program.

Short-Term Job Creation

Short-term job-creation programs are primarily a vehicle whereby the target group receives on-the-job training and exposure to the social aspects of the work place. In addition one might take a more cynical view: the creation of short-term jobs leads to a reduction in the hostility level of the chronically unemployed.

Over time, there have been a number of short-term job-creation programs initiated, primarily, by the federal government; however, it has only been in recent years that a significant portion of the funds for such projects has been directed to Native groups. In general, programs such as Local Initiative Projects (LIP), Winter Works, Canada Works, and Canada Community Development Projects are all quite similar. They usually provide financial support to non-profit organizations that agree to provide employment to the unemployed, for periods of twenty-six to fifty-two weeks. The Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP) is a notable exception, since it provides funding for up to forty-eight months.

Although I do not possess supporting evidence, it is apparent that the share of such monies being spent on Native groups has increased dramatically over the past twenty years. This applies even more strongly to urban Native people. In fact, CEIC, in 1978/1979, is said to have expended roughly 60 to 70 per cent of its Saskatchewan allocation for LEAP and Canada Works, on Native-operated and -staffed social projects.[19]

Nevertheless, short-term job creation is not a popular development strategy with many Native groups. There are a number of reasons for this: well-qualified supervisory staff are difficult to attract because the projects do not offer job security; grants for capital equipment and rental space are often grossly inadequate because of pressure to spend most of the money received on wages and salaries; and the whole process induces Native leaders to devote a large proportion of their time to acquiring grants.

However, these criticisms should not be construed to imply that all the individual projects are worthless; indeed, LEAP is often praised for the assistance it provides to Native-initiated projects. Instead, it is the general application of 'band-aid' solutions to problems requiring a major restructuring of society that is questioned. For instance, many Native leaders suggest that it would be of much greater benefit to their constituents if funds for short-term job-creation projects were transferred to genuine economic development activities and job-related training schemes.[20]

Table 2:4 Employment Support Program from 1973/74 to 1978/79[a]

	1973/74	1974/75
Number of Projects	52	79
Total Job Positions	229	511
Total People Placed	271	599
Total ESP Staff[b]	7 (T)[c]	11 (T)
Total Budget	$582 916	$1 439 108

Notes

a. Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services.

b. ESP: Employment Support Program.

c. 'T' indicates temporary employment.

d. 'P' indicates permanent employment.

The Province of Saskatchewan, through the Department of Social Services, has operated a small-scale, short-term, job-creation program called 'Employment Support Program' (ESP). The levels of funding and activity involved in this program since its inception in 1972 are presented in Table 2:4. ESP's purpose is to remove people from welfare and establish them in permanent employment, a traditional objective of short-term job-creation activities. The program grew rapidly from its start in 1972 until 1977, when it was partially amalgamated with Special ARDA.

In general, ESP has been moderately successful in its attempts to develop individual self-reliance.[21] Although not explicitly addressed to Natives, approximately 40 to 50 per cent of its funds have been spent on Métis/non-status-Indian projects. In addition, a workable rapport has been built up over time with the AMNSIS local and other groups representing diverse elements within the Native community. While the program was in

Fiscal Years			
1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79
113	105	74	80
607	499	391	416
743	593	449	507
12 (3P)[d]	12 (P)	15 (P)	15 (P)
	(9T)	4 (T)	4 (T)
$1 513 715	$1 480 648	$2 040 011	$2 563 638

a state of confusion at the time of writing, this should not be attributed to the management of ESP, but to the provincial government's indecision as to how it should deliver its Native-oriented, soft economic development programming, and, equally important, where these activities should be housed. Some such confusion is only to be expected, as politicians frequently wish to ignore reality by assuming that 'soft' job-creation is a form of economic development, when it is often, at best, a form of job training and social assistance. It is difficult to blend political desires with the reality of the situation. Although short-term job creation is an important objective, it is most certainly less contentious and, hence, less interesting than the affirmative action program that Saskatchewan announced in 1980.

Affirmative Action Plans

As part of its recent program to improve the conditions of life for Saskatchewan's Native people, the province greatly strengthened the mandate of its Human Rights Commission. The new regulations and enabling legislation give the Commission sweeping powers to encourage and, if necessary, to force employers to hire Native people until their proportion of employees is roughly equivalent to their proportion of the local available work-force.

Under this affirmative action scheme, an employer establishes goals with respect to remedial action and, if the plan is approved, the employer cannot be held liable for practising reverse discrimination. Although the provincial government has 'soft-peddled' the compulsory elements of the scheme, its power clearly exists. For example, section 47 of the Saskatchewan Human Rights Code reads as follows:

> (1) On the application of any person or on its own initiative, the commission may approve or order any program to be undertaken by any person if the program is designed to prevent

> disadvantages that are suffered by any group of individuals when those disadvantages would be or are based on or related to the race, creed, religion, colour, sex, marital status, physical disability, age, nationality, ancestry or place of origin of members of that group, by improving opportunities respecting services, facilities, accommodation, employment or education in relation to that group.
>
> (2) At any time before or after approval to a program is given by the commission, or a program is ordered by the commission or a board of inquiry, the commission may:
>
> (a) make inquiries concerning the program;
> (b) vary the program;
> (c) impose conditions on the program; or
> (d) withdraw approval of the program as the commission thinks fit.

Despite the uncontested power to force action, use of such a provision, in the present social climate, would have potentially disastrous political repercussions for the provincial government.

Before proceeding to evaluate further the province's post-1979 initiatives, it will be informative to review briefly the Thatcher government's 1969 proposals. The Liberal government committed itself to ensuring that 7 per cent of all public service positions would be occupied by Native people; this activity was known as the 'Supernumerary Training Program'.[22] The objective was to be reached by expanding the public service to provide the required positions. Unfortunately, these jobs were largely temporary and of a low-skill level. Although the program was clearly less than adequate, it is still surprising and commendable that such an initiative should have been undertaken at such a point in the province's historical and social development. While the Supernumerary Training

Program had its limitations, it did help launch the careers of many Native people. Hence the program does provide circumstantial evidence to suggest that a well-planned affirmative action program can succeed.

The new initiatives, announced in 1980 by the Blakeney government, to increase Native employment, can be subdivided into two components: the Native Employment in Government Program, and the Native Job Training and Employment program. The former focuses on the public service proper and is to be operated by the Saskatchewan Public Service Commission, while the latter, as discussed above, is to be implemented under the auspices of the Department of Continuing Education. Unfortunately, the latter program is in the formative stage and, at the time of writing little is known of its employment-generation tactics, other than that it is expected to focus on Native employment within the Crown corporations and the private sector.

The Native Employment in Government Program is moving ahead very quickly. The enthusiasm of the staff associated with this initiative must be commended, but program success will be difficult to attain. The major reasons for this statement are as follows: low personnel-turnover rates; a continued decline in the total level of employment within the public service;[23] continued financial constraints;[24] and union resistance to large-scale circumvention of 'seniority' privileges and the imposition of other perceived inequities in the promotion process. Indeed, it is in the area of rapid career advancement that the greatest difficulties will be experienced. However, if Native people do not quickly achieve representation at all levels of the system, the Native Employment in Government Program will be deemed nothing more than a sophisticated Supernumerary Training Program.

One further criticism must be made of Saskatchewan's approach to affirmative action: in particular, its efforts to increase Native employment within the public service are unsatisfactory. Despite the critical importance of this initiative with respect to the prospects of long-term racial harmony, the province does not appear to have undertaken any technical analysis of the internal consistency of its goals. Specifically, the provincial bureaucracy, which has a general reputation for sound planning, has not, for example, constructed a model whereby an observer can assess the adjustment process required if publicly stated targets are to be attained, or, alternatively, by which an observer can project the probable time path required to achieve specific employment targets, given certain underlying assumptions about the labour market. Among the critical features of such a model are the following: staff turnover; total employment levels; occupational structure; non-Native-employment practices; and the nature of job guarantees given to non-Native males. Cursory analysis suggests that the targets of, say, six to eight years, being identified implicitly by the Social Planning Secretariat and the Human Rights Commission cannot possibly be attained without major hardship being imposed on one or more non-Native groups or without a major expansion of the public sector. According to the Chief Commissioner of the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission, the former possibility will not take place: "Governments are responsible to see that affirmative action programs are acceptable and do not infringe on the rights of employees or students who are not in the 'target groups'."[25] Similarly, a major expansion of the public service is also unlikely.[26]

Summary

In conclusion, unless incremental funding and positions are created within the public service, it is exceedingly difficult to imagine a dramatic change in Native-employment patterns within, say, the next five years; proportional representation will take even longer to achieve. To move more quickly will invite union opposition and, possibly, more widespread non-Native opposition. Indeed, it would appear that if the Government of Saskatchewan is seriously committed to effecting rapid change, it should concentrate its efforts on the high-growth areas of the economy, such as the Crown corporations and private resource companies. This area is generally outside the scope of this study, but one aspect will be addressed in the following pages: Native-owned and Native-operated economic units.

Economic Development

The field of community economic development is worthy of detailed study. However, given my mandate, I shall focus only on those aspects of the issue that directly involve government programming in a material way. In brief, economic development is extremely important because it is a necessary condition for the attainment of self-determination. A community economic development strategy involves not only the ownership and control of viable enterprises, but also the employment of Native people throughout those organizations. By the development of such a strategy, economic dependence of Native people on non-Natives can be reduced to a more acceptable level.

The economic development approach has a number of pragmatic advantages. Under such a scheme, Native people can, if they wish, develop somewhat along the Japanese model: they can achieve partial integration into mainstream society, yet retain much of their culture and, hence, effective control over their way of life. In practice, this would suggest that entrepreneurially-minded Indians could exercise managerial skills without alienating themselves from their ethnic group. It also implies that Native people wishing to enter the labour force in a non-managerial capacity could enter a potentially friendlier, more sympathetic environment in which to make the adjustment to an urbanized society. The non-Native community could also benefit in increasing their understanding of business; Native and non-Native segments of the population would achieve a greater commonality of interest; and there would be less racial tension if Native people were able to improve their standard of living.

To some extent, the above possibilities represent, at least in the short run, wishful thinking. The transition from present circumstances, if it can be made at all, is likely to take many years to achieve. Indeed, it is difficult even now to put the process in motion. Some of the constraining factors are a lack of capital, managerial expertise, and a trained workforce.

Clearly, to obtain significant urban-based economic development requires the accumulation of capital. Although borrowing may be relied upon to some degree, even this approach requires as a prerequisite a substantial equity position and reasonably good prospects for success. That is, creditors must be confident that the project will turn out to be economically viable. A vicious circle now becomes evident: it is extremely difficult for Native people, who are generally economically disadvantaged, to acquire the necessary capital to establish equity, and yet, without equity funds, they cannot initiate meaningful economic development activities.

Treaty-Indian people, with their land base, have better short-term prospects than the Métis/non-status-Indian community. Although reserve land may not, in itself, be used as collateral, the collection of royalties and rents does result, in some instances, in the acquisition of sufficient capital to facilitate the development of commercial enterprises in urban areas. The more successful of these ventures are owned by those bands residing on oil- and/or gas-producing lands or those in receipt of payments relating to past or present loss of lands.

Fortunately, Saskatchewan Indians have an opportunity, through the judicious selection of lands available to them under the land-entitlements process,[27] to acquire parcels that may be located on economically viable mineral deposits. In this regard, alienated Crown land must not be unduly retained by the government, since such acquisitions could provide the economic base and bargaining position necessary for acquisition of funds for further development. In addition, a partial trade-off of cash for land, although not a popular choice on the part of many Indian leaders, could provide a relatively rapid access to funds. Admittedly, land has cultural value to Indian people, but if self-determination in a non-reserve setting is also a relevant objective, then the cash-for-land approach may be appropriate.[28] Unfortunately for the Métis/non-status Indian people, they are without a land base; hence, resolution of their aboriginal land claims is their best vehicle for the attainment of capital required for large-scale development.[29]

A necessary condition for effective indigenous control of economic development is the education and training of Natives in the arts of management. Although some of these talents may be developed on the job, on-the-job training is limited by the fact that Native-owned ventures must, like others, strive for financial success. In order to resolve this quandry, a serious start must be made now to train and employ Native people in non-Native or quasi-Native commercial endeavours. This suggests that the provincial government's intention of increasing Native participation throughout the labour market, should be viewed, not merely as an element of an integrationist policy, but as a component of a Native self-determination strategy. In pragmatic terms, I am suggesting that Native-owned enterprises must still strive to be economically efficient. In order for this to occur, Native people may have initially to acquire managerial and technical skills in a predominantly non-Native setting.

Let us now consider governmental initiatives in this area. First, it is obvious that the settlement of land claims and of various aboriginal rights issues, have not proceeded quickly. In fact, it is only when large-scale projects require the resolution of legal issues that settlements tend to take place at all. In most instances, governments tend to be far less generous. Their typical response to settlement claims is to provide small-scale loans or grants and limited managerial advice. In summary, the assistance provided by governments has been exceedingly limited.

Programs

The extent of federal and provincial initiatives in the economic development area has been described by AMNSIS, in its assessment of past government programs in this area, as follows:

> During the past decade, there has been a great deal of discussion about economic development for Native people. There has also been a variety of Band-aid Economic Assistance Programs designed and implemented to encourage economic development among Native people. In spite of this discussion and in spite of these programs, we feel confident in saying that there has been little in the way of meaningful development among Native people or in Native communities.... However, it is a fact that even in the absence of such a geographical limitation, there has been almost no funding of development projects for Native people in urban areas.[30]

In order to address individual programs, let us look at the efforts of both levels of government in turn, starting with the federal government. The federal government has, as stated above, provided very little financial assistance to Native entrepreneurs in urban centres. DIAND, through its Indian Economic Development Fund, does provide limited assistance for urban Treaty Indians at market rates of interest. However, this program cannot be viewed as a serious, urban-based, economic development initiative.

The provincial track record in this area has been clearly unsatisfactory, although periodic statements have been made indicating and acknowledging the need for remedial action. For example, the Thatcher government included an Economic Development Branch in its

Indian and Métis Department when it first formed this organization in 1969. One of the primary objectives of the Department was "to assist Native people to develop small businesses on an individual or group basis.[31] This objective was to be achieved by providing various forms of assistance: "...inputs may include capital, training, accounting, management and legal assistance, project analysis and personnel selection."[32]

In practice, this initiative never achieved measurable success, primarily because the Department was disbanded shortly afterwards by the newly elected Blakeney government. As I have already suggested,[33] this regime downplayed Native issues, at least publicly, in the early years of its tenure. However, the province did set up an agency that was expected to carry out many of the functions previously assigned to the Indian and Métis Department. This organization, the Human Resources Development Agency (HRDA), was given the broader mandate of trying to encourage the socio-economic development of *all* disadvantaged people. Needless to say, it failed to do so.

Set up in 1973/74, HRDA quickly became a controversial agency. In particular, its attempts to foster community-based, economic development activities led it into conflict with various community groups and a number of mainstream, provincial government departments. Hence, in 1974-75, its economic development activities were transferred to the Department of Industry and Commerce.[34] Since Industry and Commerce had neither expertise nor any apparent interest in promoting 'soft' economic development programming,[35] the province's initiative in this area, with respect to urban Native people, ground to a virtual halt.[36]

Recent Initiatives

Although present endeavours in the economic development field are admittedly stop-gap, additional plans are being developed. It would appear that Saskatchewan intends to set up a Native Economic

Development Foundation.[37] This body, in addition to providing 'soft' financing, would also carry out such activities as feasibility studies. Unfortunately, limited thought appears to have been given to the development of a viable management-training program.

Virtually every Native group that has commented on the economic development issues has stressed the need for a major upgrading of the administrative and managerial skills possessed by Indian and Métis/non-status-Indian people. However, a review of the Social Planning Secretariat's documents, the Budget Speech, and other correspondence, in which the Urban Native Package is outlined, fails to reveal a serious discussion of the management-training issue. This complex area can be addressed through short courses, on-the-job training, and more formal academic programs. Although one might argue that the provincial government's affirmative action programs and existing small-business-development activities will address part of the issue, other aspects are badly neglected. This is a surprising result, given the overall training-and-education thrust of the Urban Native Package.

Summary

In summary, the field of economic development is of importance to many Native politicians, since it is a critical element in any viable, long-run, self-determination policy. It is unfortunate that the more recent policy initiatives on the part of the two senior levels of government do not appear to be appreciably more effective than the policies pursued over the past twenty years. It is, in fact, a sad commentary that the private sector, especially the banking system, which is not known for its 'social conscience', is leading the way.[38] Regardless of underlying motivation, the private sector initiatives are 'real' and growing; therefore, if government's motives are not to be seriously questioned, public sector agencies must quickly implement a vigorous plan of action.

Notes

1. See Ken Svenson, "The Explosive Years: Indian and Métis Issues in Saskatchewan to 2001" (Regina, 1978); Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, "Survey of Band Members Living Off Reserves" (Prince Albert: Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, 1978); Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, "Research and Development Project into Service Requirements of Treaty Indian People in Regina" (Regina, 1979).
2. See Brian Hill, "A Strategy to Increase the Employment of Indian People" (Regina, 1979).
3. Hill, "A Strategy".
4. For a discussion of the findings of this survey, conducted by Wesley United Church Social Animation Committee, see Hill, "A Strategy".
5. Hill, "A Strategy",p. 39.
6. The low estimate is based on the assumption that, province wide, there is one Métis/non-status person for every Indian. The high figure is based on a corresponding ratio of 2:1.
7. See Hill, "A Strategy".
8. See Hill, "A Strategy", for a thorough discussion of this subject.
9. Hope MacLean, "Native Law Student Program: An Evaluation Report" (Ottawa, 8 November 1977), p. 131.
10. Regina Native Women's Association, *Brief on Affirmative Action to the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission* (14 November 1979), p. 7.
11. See Hill, "A Strategy".
12. MacLean, "Native Law", p. 136.
13. See Hill, "A Strategy".
14. Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, *A Plan for the Socio-Economic Development of Native People* (Regina:

The Association, 1979). (Hereafter referred to as *A Plan for the ... Development.)*

15. Regina Native Women's Association, "Presentation to the NRIM Review Committee" (Regina, 6 May 1980), p. 5.
16. Regina Native Women's Association, "Presentation", p. 6.
17. The Honourable Douglas F. MacArthur, *Debates and Proceedings.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. Based on information obtained from CEIC staff.
20. See Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians, *A Plan for ... Development*; Hill, "A Strategy".
21. According to the results of an internal review, 83.3 per cent of the participants employed by ESP projects, between 1973-74 and 1976-77, have remained independent of welfare for at least one year after moving off the program. No breakdown was available on Native/non-Native comparative performance, but a large number of the participants were said to be of Native ancestry, primarily Métis/non-status Indian.
22. For details, see Saskatchewan, Indian and Métis Department, *Annual Report 1969/1970* (Regina: The Department, 1970).
23. See Saskatchewan, Department of Finance, "Saskatchewan: Into the Eighties" (Regina: The Department, 1980), p. 25.
24. Saskatchewan, Department of Finance, "Saskatchewan: Into the Eighties". A document prepared for the international financial community. The provincial government has gone to great lengths to assure potential lenders that it intends to continue its past policies of maintaining strong controls over provincial expenditures and employment. For example:

> Saskatchewan has developed a strong tradition of careful

financial planning, which has helped the Government maintain a firm control on spending. The Government has budgeted for a decline in the rate of increase in its spending for the fifth successive year.

The same firm control is reflected in the size of the public service in Saskatchewan. Government departments have actually reduced the total staff complement over the last five years. And despite the overall restraint on the size of the civil service, many new programs have been established or expanded. This has been accomplished through the reallocation of budgeted resources from low to higher priority areas.

The emphasis in Saskatchewan on the efficient use of financial and human resources in the public sector has its roots in the Province's less-prosperous past. Although the Saskatchewan economy is stronger and more diversified than ever before, the Government remains committed to giving the taxpayer maximum value for his dollar, while keeping the overall level of Government operating expenses in balance with revenues and the economic cycle." (P. 25.)

25. Regina *Leader Post* (3 April 1980), p. 5.

26. See note 24, above.

27. See Saskatchewan, Department of the Environment, "Indian Lands and Canada's Responsibility – The Saskatchewan Position: A Short Survey of Western Indian Treaties and Land Settlement" (Regina: The Department, 1979).

28. This position has pragmatic appeal in that it is politically difficult for either the federal or the provincial government to acquire vast tracts of land in the southern part of the province without generating extreme hostility on the part of farmers and ranchers. For instance, see Regina *Leader Post* (15 January 1980), p. 4; and Regina *Leader Post* (19 January 1980), p. 4.

29. For a clear enunciation of this view, see Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, *A Plan for ... Development.*

30. Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, *A Plan for ... Development*, pp. 1, 7.

31. Saskatchewan, Indian and Métis Department, *Annual Report 1969/1970*, p. 4.

32. Saskatchewan, Indian and Métis Department, *Annual Report 1969/1970*, p. 11.

33. See p. 211, above.

34. Saskatchewan, Human Resources Development Agency, *Annual Report 1974/1975* (Regina: The Agency, 1975), p. 5.

35. Over time, these programs operated under different labels.

36. The main program in this area was initially known as the 'Economic Development Program for Disadvantaged Persons' (EDPD). The name was subsequently changed to the 'Economic Opportunity Program' (EOP). For a detailed description of this program, see Saskatchewan, Department of Industry and Commerce, "Employment Opportunities Program: Program Description" (Regina: The Department, June 1978).

37. See Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Attacking Urban Native Poverty: Alternative Government Responses" (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979), p. 15; Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Saskatchewan Urban Native and Indian Poverty"; the Honourable Ed Tchorzewski, Minister of Finance, *Budget Speech* (Regina: Department of Finance, 1980), p. 19; and the Honourable Walter E. Smishek, *Debates and Proceedings*, p.872.

38. For a discussion of recent private sector initiatives, see Martin O'Malley, "Without Reservation", *Canadian Business* 53 (April 1980): 37-43. A discussion of the corporate social behaviour of the Canadian banking industry, with respect to Native issues in the nineteenth century, is presented in Wesley Deanham, "Banks Said

Involved in Shady Land Deals", Regina *Leader Post* (10 March 1980), p. 3.

3: Education

Overview

Formal education, although not the only vehicle for the transmission of knowledge, is an important factor in most anti-poverty programs. The reasons are obvious: not only is a specified level of education a prerequisite to entry into most training programs and into the regular work-force, it is also an important factor in the acquisition of social and political tools useful for negotiating a satisfying place in society.

Although the need for education for Native people is not in dispute, the educational-policy field is nonetheless the centre of significant controversy. The contentious issues are largely in the realm of administrative control, curriculum content, and mode of delivery. However, before addressing these factors, I shall outline the current state of affairs that gives rise to dissatisfaction with the present educational system as it affects Indian and Métis/non-status-Indian people in Saskatchewan.

Perhaps the most damaging criticism of Native education is that fewer than 10 per cent of Saskatchewan's Native children currently complete secondary school; this figure should be contrasted with a province-wide rate in the order of 88 per cent.[1] Not only are Native students failing to complete Grade 12, but many of them are dropping out before the ninth grade. In addition, 60 per cent of Saskatchewan's Métis/non-status-Indian and Indian children over the age of ten, are between 1.7 and 2.3 years behind their expected grade/age level.[2]

Diverse reasons are frequently given for the high rates of drop-outs, absenteeism and lower than average grade/age levels among children of Indian origin. However, the primary cause is said to be the irrelevance of their schooling experience, which, in turn, can be blamed on the lack of a suitable school curriculum, Native role models, Native teachers, Native parental involvement, and proper nutritional standards. In addition, excessive mobility on the part of Native families and possible discrimination on the part of non-Native teachers and students are considered damaging to the academic performance of students of Indian ancestry.[3]

Until recently, the school curriculum contained little in the way of Native culture, history, or art; where it did so, the material was said to be somewhat inaccurate, and it tended to portray Native people in a degrading fashion. Clearly improvements must be made in this area, but dramatic changes to the school curriculum will be hampered by the Native community's lack of cultural and linguistic homogeneity.

Although the educational system should not bear full responsibility for the lack of adequate role models for Native children to emulate, it is undoubtedly responsible to some degree for the limited number of Native professionals presently found in the workplace. Rectification of the difficulties created by the absence of role models is a long-term proposition, but short-term alleviation of the problem can be attained through the employment of Native teachers and aides. Such a program should, at least, indicate to Native students and their parents that the school system is not intrinsically hostile to their culture. In addition, the hiring of Native staff may reduce the level of discrimination that is said to exist throughout the educational system. The need for such a program is readily proved when one considers that in 1979 the two Regina school boards were reported to have only one Native teacher on staff; the corresponding figure of five for Saskatoon was only marginally better.[4] It is also of interest to note that in 1979-80, only thirteen Native students were enrolled in conventional education programs in the province's two universities.[5]

The issue of parental involvement is important. The parents of Native students seldom attend school functions and, for this reason, appear to many teachers to be indifferent to the academic success of their children.[6] Although such an interpretation is consistent with limited participation, lack of parental involvement may also be attributable to a host of other causes. For instance, many Native parents have had limited personal experience with the school system and consider themselves unable to cope with it, and many also face severe social adjustment problems of their own.

According to many teachers, the main reason for inadequate academic performance of Native children is their short average length of stay in any one school. It is stated that these children tend to move from school to school, and this mobility disrupts not only their academic studies but also their social adjustment process. If excessive mobility is, in fact, characteristic of students of Indian ancestry, then it is quite apparent that they face many difficulties that are largely beyond the control of educators themselves.

The penultimate point deals with the nutritional standards of Native children. Clearly, students consistently arriving at school in a nutritionally deficient state can be expected to display one or more learning disabilities. Although some children from middle- and upper-income families also display learning disabilities, the incidence is thought to be inversely related to income levels. For this reason Native children are a primary target group for improved nutritional standards.

Despite the relative ease of identifying the problem, alleviation is, in practice, difficult. The reasons for this statement are easy to find: first, direct governmental action may be construed as a criticism of the way Natives rear their children; secondly, the cost of a full-scale effort to improve nutrition among Native families may be viewed as excessive; and thirdly, the program may be resented by non-Natives as unwarranted preferential treatment that merely reinforces the welfare-dependency cycle from an early age. One solution to the 'special status' allegation is to provide free meals for all school children. However, this can be expected to raise the second objection listed above, and if the 'free meal' program is then modified by restricting it to specific schools, the third objection surfaces. Despite these pragmatic difficulties, the nutrition program is one of the most promising areas for making a rapid visible attack on an important aspect of educational underachievement.

The final issue to be discussed, with respect to student-learning problems, is the possibility of overt or covert discrimination practised by school staffs and non-Native students. To the extent that discrimination takes place, it reinforces the Native child's negative perceptions of the present school system. One method of addressing the problem is to employ appropriate staff in schools with a large Native enrolment; this practice would include the use of Native teachers. Another instrument for reducing the level of discrimination is to increase the level of understanding of Native culture and history on the part of non-Native students and staff. The suggestions, among others, will be explored in some depth in the next few pages, where past and present government-program initiatives are addressed.

Government Policies and Programs

History

Although my mandate is to explore government programming activities since 1960, it is quite apparent that much of the early period is irrelevant to the task at hand. This is not to assert that the basic problems did not then exist, but to suggest that Native-education difficulties were usually attributed to poverty-related factors.

However, in the mid-1970s, the Regina Public School Board decided that non-poverty issues were involved. With the assistance of the Saskatchewan Department of Education, Regina Native Women, and the Regina Native Race Relations Association, the Board introduced a number of pilot projects in two inner-city elementary schools, Kitchener and Albert.[7] Although initiated on a small scale. the activities such as the Community Aide, Native Class Room Assistants and Native Pre-Kindergarten programs represent sincere attempts to remove some of the difficulties encountered by Native children in the provincial school systems. Since these programs received limited support from the province's Department of Education, it was rather difficult, for financial reasons, for the sponsors to escalate the level of their activities.[8] In summary, the Regina Public School Board, the staffs of Kitchener and Albert Schools, in association with Regina Native Women and Regina Race Relations Association, provided a useful starting-point for remedial action. Perhaps because the level of effort and the results obtained were modest, the pioneering efforts of those involved have not been widely recognized.[9]

Community Schools Program and Related Activities

Significant actions in the field of education for Native students did not take place until quite recently; they owe their origins to the Saskatchewan government's Social Planning Secretariat (SPS). This group identified the lack of educational attainment as one of the primary factors in the current disadvantaged state of Saskatchewan's urban Native people.[10] Although this lack of attainment was not the only factor accountable, improvement in the field of education was viewed as a necessary condition for advancing the situation of this group of citizens.

Quite naturally, the SPS focused its attention on the elementary school system in order to attack the problem at its roots. Not only does this make intuitive sense, but it also acknowledges a regrettable reality of the situation: instant solutions are not available.

The Social Planning Secretariat's basic thrust was ultimately outlined in a discussion paper published by the Saskatchewan Department of Education, entitled "Community Schools Program".[11] This new activity involves two main elements: the identification of Community Schools[12] and the development of a number of specialized programs for each such school. Approximately forty institutions are expected to be identified by these criteria. Not all of the program elements would be found in each school, at least not in the first few years of operation. However, in the longer run, all schools with over, say, 20 to 25 per cent Native enrolment are expected to exhibit the full set of program components.

One of the first activities to be established will be the Native Teaching Associates Program. It is expected that suitable candidates will be selected, trained and placed sometime during the 1980-81 fiscal year. The longer-term financial and activity data are presented in Table 3:1. These people are hired to actively assist the class-room teacher in many different ways. Although this program should have academic and social merit, there is little doubt that it is a 'crash' program to increase quickly the Native presence in the provincial school system. One cannot help but suspect that its speed of implementation is partially attributable to political considerations, since it is a useful strategy to be able to show tangible action prior to the 1982 provincial election. Regardless of the underlying reasons, the Native Teaching Associates Program should help transform Saskatchewan's schools into more hospitable places for Native students and parents.

Another component of the package will be the hiring of Community School Co-ordinators. These people, probably of Indian ancestry, will attempt to foster community interest and understanding of the

Table 3:1 Tentative Planning Estimates: Selected Aspects of Saskatchewan Native Educational Programming, 1980-81 to 1983-84 ($ 000s)[a]

	Year			
Program	*1980-81*	*1981-82*	*1982-83*	*1983-84*
Saskatchewan Urban Native Teachers Education Program				
Students	30	67	104	141
Cost[b]	$730	$1 290	$1 739	$2 229
Native Teaching Associates				
Students	40	40	20	—
Employment	40	80	80	80
Cost	$734	$1 471	$1 842	$1 505
Community School Co-ordinators				
No. of Schools	10	12	15	20
Employment	10	12	15	20
Cost	$230	$293	$384	$538
School Nutrition Project				
No. of Schools	4	10	20	40
Employment				
• full time	4	10	20	40
• part time	4	10	20	40
Cost	$156	$413	$868	$1 823
Native Curriculum Resources				
Employment	7	7	7	7
Cost	$436	$462	$485	$509

Notes

a. Unpublished planning documents, Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat.

b. All costs are expressed in end-1980 dollars.

educational process, and to work with Indian and Métis/non-status-Indian families in which one or more children are experiencing difficulties at school. The Co-ordinators are also expected to work with the Community School Councils,[13] which consist of residents of a given school area, in an attempt to ensure that local aspirations are reflected in the day-to-day operation of the school. (Refer to Table 3:1 for details.)

A third element in the package is the development of a school nutrition program. As outlined above, the rationale for such an initiative is praiseworthy, but political difficulties may be anticipated during the implementation stage. Thus it is not surprising that the two Regina school boards have not welcomed with open arms the idea of even a voluntary nutrition program. However, the Boards appear to be willing to implement such a small-scale project. Although final details relating to organizational structure are not available, it would appear that considerable thought has been given to finding methods of delivery that will minimize the charges of paternalism and cultural insensitivity.

The final element of the Community Schools Program to be considered is the Local Curriculum Grants program. This modest financial activity is intended to assist the Community School Councils to undertake various projects. Although this is a praiseworthy objective, the financial allotment, initially set at $5000 per school, is so small that it virtually precludes success. This program raises the issue of community control: if a new curriculum is developed in a given area, who is to decide whether it is suitable for implementation?

There are other aspects of the educational thrust that are not under the rubric of the Community Schools Program, although they are, in fact, essential ingredients in its success. Let us now explore these programs.

Native Teacher Training

The employment of additional teachers of Indian ancestry is generally accepted as an important societal objective. Such an event should assist in the provision of suitable role models, the reduction of discrimination, a sympathetic interpretation of Native historical and cultural material, and interaction between teaching staff and Native parents.

In order to train more Native teachers, the Social Planning Secretariat devised the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teachers Educational Program (SUNTEP).[14] This activity is expected to be a three- to four-year off-campus program, with a major emphasis on the attainment of practical experience that is to be gained through sojourns in the designated Community Schools. From Table 3:1 it is apparent that this program, at maturity, will provide instruction to 141 Native students at an estimated annual cost of $2.3 million (1980 prices). SUNTEP will not be operated by either of the province's two Faculties of Education but, instead, by the new Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research. The advantage of this approach, from a Native programming perspective, is that it provides Dumont Institute with a highly visible, socially relevant project in its formative years. This arrangement displays an apparent readiness, on the part of the provincial government, to delegate responsibility to Native-controlled institutions. On the other hand, the setting up of a new program in a new institution, with the expectation of early success, may be a rather heroic assumption. Indeed, given the high visibility of the participants and the probable readiness of non-Native teachers to appraise the new graduates critically, the adoption of a more traditional, academic, training venue might have been a better choice. Indeed, the original SPS submission to Treasury Board purportedly took this stance, but for some unexplained reason, the final decision was to place the program in the Dumont Institute. Some observers have speculated that the decision is part of an informal agreement with the Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan (AMNSIS), in order to obtain this group's tacit approval of the Urban Native Package.

Alternative Schools

One potentially important component of the province's educational reform package has not, as yet, been discussed: the 'alternative school' program.[15] This component would appear to be a 'catch-all' category. Most references to it relate to special classes in the areas of language, culture and crafts. However, a school designated for Native children, but under the aegis of the existing school boards, should be compatible with the 'alternative school' concept. Most likely it could operate in a fashion similar to that of French-language institutions.

Under the program, one might expect the development of a Native junior high school; such an institution could prove to be useful in reducing the drop-out problem, which tends to be most severe from Grades 7 to 9. In general, it would appear that for political reasons, the idea of explicitly designated, separate, Native schools will be strongly resisted, but that *de facto* Native schools will be subtly encouraged. Undoubtedly, part of the political resistance to such 'separate' schools is attributable to the belief that many members of the non-Native community oppose further fragmentation of the educational system. However, the basic question remains: Why should separation on religious and linguistic grounds be more acceptable than a division based on ethnic characteristics?

Reactions to the Education Component of the Urban Native Package

Although formal solicitation of views was not undertaken, most Native people contacted expressed guarded optimism with respect to Saskatchewan's new policies. It is widely recognized that something must be done to effect change within the school system, and the new proposals are generally thought to be a serious attempt at addressing the problem. However, past governments have not succeeded in bringing about widespread change, and hence scepticism and suspicion are pervasive. This reaction applies with particular force to the educational field, since the general stance of the Blakeney government is vaguely similar to the position taken by the Thatcher government from 1969 to 1971.

Despite widespread belief that the Community Schools Program and other educational reforms should be given a chance to succeed, I detected the reaction that if success is not attained in, say, three to four years, there are likely to be a number of proposals calling for separate schools, in both the material and political senses of the term. In fact, the Minister of Education appears to share this view:

> We must avoid experiences of frustation and failures that could alienate minority groups. Otherwise, these groups may demand an alternative school system. Such a thing would define education in terms of ethnic origin, and would lead to separation and fragmentation of our school and our community.[16]

Similarly, Mr. Tchorzewski, the current Minister of Finance, has stated:

> If we fail to deal with the school environment, the school curriculum and community school relations for our native students, we will face an inevitable alienation of school from the native society.... Already native organizations are considering that the options open to them lie in the direction of developing alternative schools outside the neighborhood schools.[17]

In part, this latent scepticism may be attributed to the belief, held by some Native people, that their children may not be able to recapture their self-esteem and confidence within the existing school system, or even within a modified system. Hence an isolated educational environment may be the only workable solution. The likelihood of a separate system is strengthened by the prevailing view that the current restructuring does not address the critical issue of control. In summary, the jury is still out on the province's Community Schools Program and related activities.

Other Educational Endeavours

In addition to the primary thrust of the educational component of the provincial government's Urban Native Package, there are additional programs that should be mentioned. For instance, the rapid expansion of post-secondary institutions controlled by status Indians and Métis/non-status Indians is an important phenomenon. The Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College and the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College,[18] both largely financed by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), have provided educational and cultural learning experiences for Indian people generally, even though their programs have been largely directed at the 'reserve'. In addition, these institutions have also played a major role in the urban areas where they are located by successfully counteracting the traditional stereotype of Native people. The presence of articulate and well-informed Native people on campus, in the media, and before non-Native groups, clearly helps improve the non-Native perception of Indian people. It is to be hoped that this development will contribute to a long-term reduction in social tensions between Natives and non-Natives.

The Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research, although it is only in the early stages of development, has the potential of accomplishing for Métis/non-status-Indian people what the institutions named above have achieved for status-Indian people. In fact, without the strong political pressure to maintain a 'reserve' thrust, Dumont Institute may be able to assist urban Native people directly, and non-Natives indirectly, to an even greater extent than the Indian-controlled institutions. One can only hope that the Province of Saskatchewan will continue to view Dumont Institute as an integral part of its Urban Native Package.[19]

Conclusions

In the field of education, largely for constitutional reasons, the federal government's role has been minimal; however, pressures from the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI) and, indirectly, from the Province of Saskatchewan, may eventually lead to federally funded, Indian-operated, urban, elementary and secondary schools.

Limitations of time and space have prevented a satisfyingly thorough examination of Saskatchewan's Public and Catholic School Boards; these have been viewed as mere delivery agencies. However, it is recognized that they are important participants in the province's educational system. Without the school boards' active support, the province will not experience the full benefits of the significant reforms it is now implementing in a number of inner-city schools.

Notes

1. Presented in a study entitled "Urban Saskatchewan School System (1979)" as reported in Regina Catholic School Board, Native Educational Advisory Committee, "Interim Report for Native Education in the Regina Catholic Schools" (Regina, 28 February 1980, unpublished), p. 4.
2. *Interim Report*, p. 3.
3. For details, see Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Attacking Urban Native Poverty: Alternative Government Responses" (Regina: The Secretariat); Regina Catholic School Board, Native Educational Advisory Committee, *Interim Report*; and Saskatchewan, Department of Education, "Community Schools Program: Discussion Paper" (Regina: The Department, 1980).
4. These figures were obtained from unpublished planning documents prepared by the Saskatchewan Social Planning Secretariat, 1979.
5. Unpublished planning documents prepared by the Saskatchewan Social Planning Secretariat, 1979.

6. See Saskatchewan, Department of Education, "Community Schools: Discussion Paper" (Regina: The Department, 1980), p. 28.

7. For a complete list of activities, see Regina Public School Board, *Programs and Materials Relative to Native Education* (Regina, 1980).

8. At various times from 1978 to early 1980, the Regina Public School Board tried, generally unsuccessfully, to obtain the province's support for various initiatives with respect to urban Native students. Although the provincial government's actions were viewed with alarm by the School Board (for instance, see Regina *Leader Post*, 11 September 1979, p. 3), it is understandable that the province wished to maintain the *status quo* until it finished planning its own programs for urban Native people.

   It is also of interest to note that the Regina Catholic School Board announced in early 1980, just a few weeks before the Provincial Budget was to be delivered, its own plans for addressing the urban Native student's plight (Regina *Leader Post*, 12 March 1980, p. 3). It would appear that this report, initiated after the province commenced its activities, was undertaken in order to strengthen the Board's position in subsequent discussions, with the Department of Education, with respect to implementation of the province's Community Schools Program.

9. For some inexplicable reason, the Social Planning Secretariat and the Department of Education, in their publications outlining the Community Schools Program, virtually ignored the early efforts of a number of the province's school boards to address the problems of the urban Native student. Instead, they discussed activities taking place in several venues outside Saskatchewan. Although the effect of this slight is difficult to measure, it would appear that it has led to unnecessary tensions among the participants.

10. See Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "The Dimensions of Indian and Native Urban Poverty in Saskatchewan" (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979).
11. Saskatchewan, Department of Education, "Community Schools Program: Discussion Paper" (Regina: The Department, 1980).
12. According to the "Community Schools Program: Discussion Paper" pp. 28-29, the school selection process would be as follows:

> A school would be considered for the Community Schools Program if the community from which it drew its children fell into two or more of the following categories: (1) the unemployment rate is 25 per cent above the city average; (2) the proportion of the single parent families is 25 per cent above the city average; (3) the proportion of those whose first language is not English is 25 per cent above the city average; (4) the proportion of those with less than Grade 1 education is 25 per cent above the city average; (5) the proportion of social assistance recipients is 25 per cent above the city average.
>
> In addition to these criteria, all schools chosen must satisfy a final criterion: (6) at least 15 per cent of the students enrolment is of Native ancestry.

13. For details, see "Community Schools Program: Discussion Paper", pp. 21-22.
14. Information on the initial proposal is contained in Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Attacking Urban Native Poverty: Alternative Government Responses" (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979). Details of the final plan were obtained from officials in the Secretariat and the Department of Education.

15. Limited public information on the province's 'alternative school' scheme can be found in Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Attacking Urban Native Poverty: Alternative Government Responses" (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979).

    Not all the components of the Government of Saskatchewan's educational reform package have been discussed. Further information can be found in Saskatchewan, Department of Education, "Community Schools Program: Discussion Paper" (Regina: The Department, 1980); Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Saskatchewan Urban Native and Indian Poverty (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979); the Honourable Douglas F. MacArthur, Minister of Education, *Debates and Proceedings* (1979); Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "The Dimensions of Indian and Native Urban Poverty in Saskatchewan "(Regina: The Secretariat, 1979) and Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Attacking Urban Native Poverty: Alternative Government Responses" (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979).
16. Regina *Leader Post* (16 November 1979), p. 3.
17. Regina *Leader Post* (12 January 1980), p. 13.
18. For details, see *The Saskatchewan Indian* 9 (May 1979), pp. 34-35.
19. For a brief discussion of the role to be played by the Dumont Institute, see Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, *A Plan for Socio-Economic Development of Native People* (Regina, 19 April 1979).

4: Law and Justice

Introduction

Human justice is of critical day-to-day importance for Native people, but it does not dominate the Native/government policy debate. The reason lies in its residual nature; that is, the correctional system, the courts, and the police form a system of last resort. Many of the underlying causes that bring citizens into touch with the justice system can only be activated by circumstances and behaviour that are outside the bounds laid down by the justice system itself. Among the more important of such actions and circumstances are unemployment, welfare dependency, alcoholism, inadequate income levels, and racial discrimination.

Despite these qualifications, it is still important to ensure that the justice system treats all people fairly. Although one cannot totally discount overt discrimination on the part of the police and the courts, the general problem area of social alienation, resulting from poverty and discrimination, would appear to be the most fruitful for investigation. Let us briefly address the justice system as it is represented by the police, the courts and correctional centres.

Police Relations

Relations between the police and the Native community are unlikely ever to be harmonious as long as Indian and Métis/non-status people are adversely affected by social and economic deprivation. However, it is worthwhile to ensure that the police and the judiciary are well acquainted with the socio-economic aspects of the problem.

In 1977 police/Native relations in Regina reached a critical stage. In response, the Regina Native Relations Association was formed to try to alleviate the source of conflict and to improve cross-cultural understanding on a city-wide basis.[1] City police officers were 'required' to attend cross-cultural sessions[2] and, in the process, numerous Native people also acquainted themselves with some of the constraints faced by policemen. Although it is difficult to attribute success to any one factor when operating within a complex social system, it is the impression of many observers that the level of understanding between the two groups has materially improved. This is not to imply that relations are totally harmonious, but merely to suggest that a more normal level of tension now appears to exist between the police and the Native community. A 1979 review of the Regina Race Relations Project[3] found, however, that police officers were somewhat resentful of being forced to attend cross-cultural sessions and, in particular, of being singled out as the cause of racial tension. It is difficult not to sympathize with the police on the latter point, for they are being asked to bear responsibility for a series of events largely outside of their control.

Cross-cultural programs are now given to all police recruits in the province. Starting with the winter semester of 1978, the Saskatchewan Police College alloted five hours of instruction, during each four-month training session, to a study of Native culture and history. While the cadets felt a degree of resentment at having to spend their time on these activities,[4] police and Native people, given the basic sources of tension between them are now co-existing rather well.[5] In fact, approximately 50 per cent of all Regina police officers surveyed believed that there should be more Native policemen;[6] this finding corresponds with a more positive figure of 80 per cent, on the part of Regina's general public, responding to a similar question.[7] Indeed, a serious program to increase the level of Native participation in the police force, probably under an affirmative action plan,[8] could be a major step forward in improving Native/non-Native relations in the City of Regina.

Courts

The courts are an important component of any human justice system. Assuming that judges themselves are free from bias, it is probable that knowledge of the judicial process may, in itself, affect the outcome of a trial. Native people are considered to be at a disadvantage in relation to non-Native people in this matter. In order partially to rectify this situation, several important programs have been instituted in Saskatchewan; among the more interesting of these are the Native Court Workers Program, Legal Aid Clinics, and the Native Counsel Project.

The Native Court Workers Program was launched in 1973 and was financed then, as now, by grants received from the federal Department of the Solicitor General and the Saskatchewan Attorney General's Department. The program was initially operated through individual Friendship Centres but, for administrative reasons, this proved to be unsatisfactory, especially from the funding agencies' perspective. The program now operates under the umbrella of the Saskatchewan Association of Friendship Centres. There are at present twenty Native Court Workers in the province, three of them in Regina. Plans tentatively exist to increase the province-wide staffing level to thirty-two. This increase would allow the program to operate at its planned activity level. The role of the Court Worker is to assist Native people brought before the court: to ensure that they understand the charge; to inform them about referral agencies such as Legal Aid Services, to act, if required, as interpreters; and, in general, to provide para-legal advice. Overall, this program, an example of a successful contracting-out experience, appears to be operating quite well. Although the bureaucrats contacted still had some concerns of a managerial nature, the Native Community appears to perceive the program as worthwhile. In this situation, both the federal and provincial governments recognized that Native people required assistance from culturally sensitive individuals in order that they might receive reasonably equitable treatment before the law.

The adoption, in 1974, of a province-wide legal aid service was undoubtedly of substantial benefit to Native people. Although the service is not specifically directed to Native people, approximately 50 per cent of the Regina clinic's case-load is said to consist of clients of Indian ancestry.[9] This service would be of greater assistance to Native people if more Native lawyers were included, as they became available, in the delivery process. However, the problem of underrepresentation of Native lawyers, as well as other difficulties, was partially addressed in 1977 with the initiation in Regina of the Native Counsel Project. This activity,[10] funded by the federal Department of Justice, provides legal services to Native organizations, groups and societies. As well as handling legal/administrative issues for a number of Native organizations, it also takes on individual cases, upon referral from one of a number of Native agencies. Although the objectives of the project are admirable, both its small scale of operation and its organizational problems, have limited its significance to date.[11] However, there is little doubt that this type of service, if properly operated, could assist Native people, individually and collectively, in preserving and re-establishing their legal rights.

Although only cursory attention has been given to the court system, it is obvious that governments recognize that Native people, for a host of reasons, face unusual difficulties. The introduction of the Native Court Workers Program, in particular, is a major step forward for two reasons:

the increased use of Native personnel and the increased use of the contracting-out system.

Corrections Systems

The relative ratio of imprisonment of adult males, including status Indians, Métis/non-status Indians, and non-Natives was of the respective order of 23.3 : 7.5 : 1.0. That is, an adult Indian male is 23.3 times as likely to be imprisoned as a non-Native male. Again, Métis/non-status Indian males display significantly different behaviour from either of the other groups. Even more dramatic is the female-offender rate; in this group, the imprisonment ratios, per capita, are respectively, 88 : 19 : 1 for Indian, Métis/non-status-Indian, and non-Native adult females.

It has been estimated[12] that on the basis of behavioural characteristics recorded in 1977, a sixteen-year-old Indian male faced a 70 per cent probability that he would be imprisoned in a provincial correctional centre before he reached his twenty-fifth birthday. The corresponding probabilities for Métis/non-status-Indian and non-Native adult males are 34 and 8 per cent. Although the parallel female rates are substantially lower, Indian females face a higher probability of imprisonment during their sixteenth to twenty-fifth years, than do non-Native males. Although these projections have been criticized on technical grounds,[13] they do dramatically spell out what could happen if no action were taken. Clearly, the 'action' referred to must be of a decisive nature: an effective attack on poverty and discrimination, and not just a fine-tuning of the present correctional system.

Within this area of study, a number of programs have been undertaken to aid people who have been imprisoned.[14] Perhaps the best known of the Saskatchewan initiatives had been the Fine Options Program. Under this scheme, first introduced in 1976, people who would otherwise have been imprisoned for non-payment of fines may now, instead of serving time, volunteer to perform useful community work. The actual work is administered by a number of groups, including Indian bands and Friendship Centres.

Although not restricted to people of Indian ancestry, the program certainly assists this group. In 1975-76, prior to the introduction of the Fine Options Program, 33.5 per cent of all admissions to Saskatchewan's Provincial Correctional Centres were attributable to the non-payment of fines. By 1978-79, the corresponding rate had dropped to 28.3 per cent. Further details appear in Table 4:1. Moreover, of the 4909 participants in the Fine Options Program in 1977-78, 2460 and 1124, respectively, were said to be Indian or Métis/non-status people. Hence, one is tempted to conclude that this program has been of major benefit to Native people. Although there is substance in this statement, it must be stressed, as Table 4:1 shows, that the number of admissions to prison for "fine default only" has remained comparatively static since the inception of the program, relative to the situation existing in the year immediately preceding the implementation of the scheme. Hence, it is apparent that Saskatchewan's jails still serve as a 'debtors' prison' to an unacceptable degree.

Summary

The area of human justice provides several examples that typify the plight of Native people: the data relating to imprisonment, for instance, is disturbing. Unfortunately, the responses that may be undertaken by the judicial system itself are largely of a 'band-aid' nature. This is not to belittle the efforts of the many volunteer and governmental agencies that operate in this policy field, but, rather, to suggest that a more radical transformation of the income-distribution, employment and educational systems, as well as the removal of discriminatory barriers, are required if discouraging projections are to be proved false.

Table 4:1 Fine Options Program: Statistical Summary as of 31 December 1979[a]

Year	*All Admissions to Correctional Centres*	*Admissions for Fine Default Only*	*Fine Default Admission as % of All Admissions*
1975/76	4 810	1 611	33.5%
1976/77	5 516	1 741	31.5%
1977/78	5 758	1 694	29.4%
1978/79	5 748	1 624	28.3%
1 April 1979 to 31 December 1979	3 554	1 036	29.2%

Note

a. Saskatchewan Department of Social Services.

Notes

1. For a more complete discussion of the activities of the Regina Native Race Relations Association, see Part 7 of this report. Detailed information can be found in Larry Heinemann, "Regina Native Race Relations Association: An Interim Evaluation" (Regina, 15 May 1979).
2. Heinemann, "An Interim Evaluation", p. 31.
3. Heinemann, "An Interim Evaluation".
4. Heinemann, "An Interim Evaluation".
5. John H. Hylton, Rae Matonovich *et al.*, "Job Satisfaction in the

Regina Police Department" (Regina, 1979). The authors found that discontent and, in fact, hostility still exist between the participants, at least from the perspective of the police. Nevertheless, these conclusions do not negate Heinemann's observation. The key point is not the absolute level of the negative perceptions at any given moment in time, but the direction and the rate of change in these attitudes. Based on Heinemann, *An Interim Evaluation*, and on statements by various interested observers, it would appear that relations between the Native community and the police have improved since 1977.

6. Hylton *et al.*, "Job Satisfaction".
7. John H. Hylton, Rae Matonovich, *et al.*, "Public Attitudes About Crime and the Police in Regina" (Regina, 1979).
8. See p. 221 ff., above.
9. Paul Havemann, "Final Report on Native Counsel Project of the Regina Community Legal Services Society", (Regina, 1979), pp. 15-16.
10. Havemann, "Final Report".
11. See Havemann, "Final Report" for details.
12. John Hylton, "Admissions to Saskatchewan Provincial Correctional Centres: Projections to 1993" (Regina, 1980).
13. The primary criticisms relate to the study's use of a 'fixed coefficient'. That is to say that the 1976-77 behavioural characteristics of the target population are assumed to remain fixed to 1993. The critics, of course, argue that remedial action, already initiated, will alter current rates of imprisonment. To some extent, one could argue the reverse: that the situation could also deteriorate. If the latter course of events took place, Hylton's work would understate the future situation.
14. See Hylton, "Projections", p. 2, for a listing of such activities.

5: Welfare, Health and Housing

Introduction

The welfare state has proved a mixed blessing for the Native community and, one might say, for the community at large. It is not any particular activity that creates the problem, but the aggregate impact of welfare-oriented programming. Together such programs have a cumulative effect and generate the well-known welfare-dependency problem. Not only are work incentives reduced but, ultimately, recipients' self-image and confidence can be dramatically eroded. Although any assistance scheme can lead to a reduction in self-reliance, the diminution of this characteristic is usually a socially justifiable price to pay for remedial action of one sort or another. Unfortunately, in extreme circumstances characterized by lack of economic opportunities over a long period of time, the welfare state may cause more problems than it alleviates.

In order to reduce the severity of the problem, many Native leaders suggest the need for a large-scale program that includes the following elements: the creation of job opportunities; the development of strong social, cultural and political institutions; an independent economic base.

At the same time, these leaders suggest a reduction of the present non-Native-initiated welfare system. As a consequence of this action, some Indian and Métis/non-status-Indian leaders suggest that the funds saved by the dismantling process might largely fund the suggested undertakings.[1] An obvious difficulty in implementing such a scheme is the matter of timing: How do people survive during the transition period that might last, for some recipients, for a number of years?

The speed at which such a change-over takes place must be carefully regulated; otherwise, a large number of people may be harmed, since the group most likely to obtain the benefits of a Native-controlled strategy for economic development, in the short run, may differ from those who suffer from the eradication of specific welfare programs. The existence of a large number of single-parent families suggests that women and children would suffer disproportionately. The overall objective of self-determination, with its inherent need for an independent power base and economic footing, is not in dispute. What is contentious is the rate of attainment of such a goal.

Let us now leave the overall issue of welfare dependency and, instead, examine the various elements of the policy field: social services that provide cash and goods; health services; and the provision of housing.

Social Services

Social service activities will be separated into two categories: income transfers and 'in-kind' (personal) services. Before examining such activities, let us explore one of the contentious issues in this area of policy analysis: the jurisdictional dispute between the Treaty Indians and the federal government.

Indian people view themselves as having a special relationship with the federal government. Although that government does not dispute this general point, it implicitly interprets its responsibilities in such a manner that the services and obligations mentioned in the Indian treaties and related statutes apply only to Indians on reserves. Once Indians move off the reserves, they become, in essence, citizens like any other Canadian and, hence, a provincial responsibility.

In recent years, Indian people have become more politically conscious and more concerned about protecting their legal rights. For this reason they have started to defend their position by promulgating their perceptions of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the Treaties, the British North America Act (now the Constitution Act), and the Indian Act. For instance, Saskatchewan Indian leaders have repeatedly stated that the reserve/off-reserve distinction is no longer applicable: Indian people, regardless of their place of residence, should enjoy full treaty rights such as health, education and welfare services.[2] According to the basic Indian position, these services should be delivered directly by the federal government or, preferably, by Indian organizations that, in turn, receive the necessary funding from Ottawa.

It is only since the early 1970s that responsibility for Indians living on/off reserves has become a major source of contention. This development, of course, coincided with a major increase in Indian migration to the cities, which led to the realization by Indian leaders that a 'reserve only' focus was patently unrealistic, given these migration trends. These concerns were also reinforced by the federal government's 1969 White Paper on Indians.[3] This document, at least from the perspective of Saskatchewan Indians, indicated that the federal government was considering the initiation of an active policy of assimilation. Although this policy was ultimately renounced by the Government of Canada, suspicions remain that it is the unstated rationale for virtually every development of Indian policy generated from Ottawa. The Province of Saskatchewan also appears to have formed similar suspicions. Undoubtedly, part of the Saskatchewan concern was financial: expenditure cut-backs on the reserves would accelerate migration to the cities, and this movement, in turn, would lead to a substantial shift of costs to the province. This shift would follow from the province's policy, at that time, of treating all off-reserve Indians (including temporary residents and transients) as it did all other citizens of the province.

Partly as a result of these financial concerns, negotiations with the federal government were initiated by Saskatchewan, to minimize any potential impact on the provincial Treasury of expenditure related to Native people. A temporary settlement, as outlined in the Taylor/Chrétien correspondence,[4] was reached in 1973. It was agreed that Treaty Indians would remain wards of the federal government for one year after moving off a reserve; thereafter they would become a provincial responsibility. If the province provided needed services for these people within one year of their moving off a reserve, the federal government would compensate the province: in other words, the notorious 'charge-back' system would apply. Technically, this arrangement remains the operational rule for the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services.

Recent political posturing has resulted in something of a departure from the above arrangement. The province has accepted the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians' (FSI) position that all services to Treaty Indian people should be financed, directly or indirectly, by the federal government. The province's support for the FSI's position is in its own interest. By taking this position, not only does the Blakeney government stand to gain a large share of the increasingly important Indian vote, but it also stands to gain financially if the full costs of all welfare services provided to Treaty Indian people are compensated by the federal government.[5]

Let us now look at issues associated with specific programs.

Cash-Transfer System

There are no provincial cash-transfer systems that are specifically designed for Native people; all of the current schemes are anti-poverty programs that do not relate in any way to the ethnic background of those who benefit. The basic welfare structure is the Saskatchewan Assistance Plan (SAP).[6] Although an analysis of SAP would lie beyond my mandate, suffice it to say that the program is a scheme incorporating a means test that involves bureaucratic discretion and tax-back rates of 100 per cent or more throughout much of its relevant range; in other words, it is characterized by strong work-disincentive effects. Although precise data are unavailable, it is estimated that roughly 40 per cent of social assistance recipients resident in the Regina region and 25 per cent of the SAP clients in the remainder of the province are of Indian ancestry.[7] This estimate supports the FSI claim that approximately 70 per cent of Regina's Indians depend on welfare.[8]

Treaty Indians who have lived in Regina for less than one year are, as I have previously stated, expected to receive welfare assistance from the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). However, many Indian people and many provincial public servants believe that DIAND discourages applicants and, in this way, implicitly refers people for the provincial assistance. DIAND's purported objective of transferring responsibility for these people to the provincial government is supposedly achieved by a policy of deliberately understaffing its counselling offices in the urban centres. The resulting delays in service clearly encourage people in need to resort to the provincial system, where assistance is more readily provided.

We shall pay cursory attention to one additional provincial income-transfer scheme, the Family Income Plan (FIP). FIP is a novel, small-scale, guaranteed, annual income plan adopted by Saskatchewan in 1974. An important aspect of the scheme is the presence of relatively strong work incentives. This aspect is critical to the scheme's success, since its objective is to supplement the incomes of the working poor. Unfortunately, access to FIP is based on an 'application' process;

consequently, many social planners believe that Native people, as a group, are not making full use of the program. That is, the program's 'take-up' rate is substantially less than 100 per cent.

Given the degree of Native urban poverty and the importance of breaking the welfare-dependency cycle, it would appear that FIP could prove an ideal instrument for assisting people to move off the welfare rolls and into the work-force. Through this program, people could take low-paying, entry-level jobs, without suffering more financial hardship than they would suffer if they continued to receive welfare assistance. The service provided by FIP would, to some extent, address concerns such as that expressed by the Regina Native Women's Association:

> You must remember that a woman with children requires a good wage in order to work. Child care and transportation become an expense that takes up a good portion of earnings. Without a good wage, it is often an advantage to stay at home and remain on welfare.[9]

It follows that more adequate support levels, in real terms, and a more aggressive campaign to publicize the scheme would benefit many Native people, without necessarily generating a substantial increase in net expenditures.

The problem of the scheme's under-use is not likely to be resolved, however, given the budget constraints that the provincial government has currently placed on social programming. Another indication of the province's attitude is the provincial government's refusal to index the program against the impact of inflation. The province's refusal to index the FIP benefit schedule directly, or even indirectly, has badly eroded a rather innovative and potentially beneficial program.

Personal Social Services

Let us now move on to a policy field that is much more contentious than the cash-transfer system: the provision of certain types of 'in-kind', personal, social services. We shall not deal with the full range of personal social services that are available; instead, I shall focus on three important provincial program areas: child care, adoption and day care.

Child care

The child-care program exhibits a number of disturbing features. For instance, as of 31 December 1979, approximately 35 and 27 per cent of the children in care were, respectively, of Indian and Métis/non-status-Indian origin.[10] It may make the situation plainer to convert these data to relative rates according to ethnic classification. The data indicate that an Indian child is 7.9 times as likely to be in care as a non-Native child; the corresponding figure for a Métis/non-status Indian child is much lower, standing at 3.1.[11] These data are significant for two reasons: first, they suggest a serious problem of social injustice and family disintegration; and secondly, they support the position that Métis/non-status-Indian and Indian people should not be viewed as a homogeneous group.

Before moving on, it is important to mention a constant source of irritation to many Native groups: that is the large number of Native children in non-Native homes. In theory, the relevant issue here is merely a minor factor among the issues raised by the even more controversial subject of the adoption of Native children by non-Native parents. We shall cover the political issues of child care in the following section.

Adoption of Native children

Statistics showing the number of non-Native adoptions of Native children are not available, but the Native community believes that the practice occurs too frequently. It is the permanency of adoption that helps generate such heated debate and the subsequent charges of 'cultural genocide'. Basically, there are two completely opposed schools of thought on this matter: the 'child-first' position that takes no account of ethnic origin, versus the view that ethnic and cultural factors should be considered of critical importance in arranging adoption.

The proponents of the former view maintain that the welfare of the child must come before other considerations. However, this perception of welfare detracts a great deal from the importance of culture and ethnic identity; instead, it appears to place emphasis on a stable home life, loving parents, and economic security. The Native community, although not rejecting the relevance of the latter factors, generally attributes greater importance to cultural values and also emphasizes the threat posed by the Native/non-Native adoptions to the long-term survival of Native people as a distinct ethnic entity.[12] Hence members of this group sometimes see non-Native adoption of Native children as an insidious attack on the prolonged existence of the Indian and Métis/non-status-Indian communities.

The debate on this issue is not likely to be resolved intellectually, since arguments are based on fundamentally different value systems. However, the controversy has had a substantial influence on public policy. Until the mid-1970s, Saskatchewan children of Indian ancestry were often placed for adoption in other provinces and, even more contentiously, in other countries. Objections to this practice reached a peak in 1975 and led to the cessation of foreign placements. They also led to a curbing of the 'hard sell' advertising campaign used within the province to encourage the general public to adopt 'difficult to place' children. The latter term is primarily a euphemism for the older Native child. Despite the fact that the Resources for Adoption of Children (REACH) Program continues to operate across all ethnic groups, the Department of Social Services has increased its efforts to place Native children in Native homes.

This approach would clearly be a partial solution to the problem of placing Native children if Native homes were widely available. Unfortunately, such a solution is virtually precluded for a number of reasons. First, the widespread poverty and the prevalence of large families within the Native community reduces the likelihood that a Native family would wish to adopt more children. Even if some families did, the criteria employed to select suitable parents would reduce the possibility of finding Native adoptive parents. The general aversion to placing children with single parents virtually rules out over half of the Native families with children.[13] When this consideration is combined with the economic and housing standards required of an adopting family,[14] there remain very few Native parents interested in adopting children.

If the economic problems of Native people decline over time, and if this development is associated with a lower net birth rate, then the 'adoption' problem will diminish. In these circumstances, more Native people are likely to be willing and able to adopt a relatively smaller group of eligible children. The process could be accelerated if in selecting adoptive parents, the Department of Social Services placed greater emphasis on cultural values and less on materialistic considerations.

It would appear that there is a much greater role for Native organizations to play in this culturally sensitive area than they are playing at the present. In some jurisdictions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) operate child-care and placement services; perhaps, Native-controlled NGOs should be considered in Saskatchewan as a potential instrument for dealing with this important public policy issue.

Day care

Given the presence of a large number of single-parent Native families, one might expect Native people to be high utilizers of day-care services. However, the reality appears to be quite different: for instance, the Day Care Branch of the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services unofficially estimated that in 1978 only 3 per cent of children in subsidized day care were of Indian ancestry.[15] Given the generally accepted ethnic/demographic characterization of the province's non-reserve population, one would expect at least 15 per cent, and perhaps upwards of 20 per cent, of enrolled children to be of Indian ancestry.

This underrepresentation of Native children in day-care centres may be partially attributable to the presence of an informal day-care system based on ties of family or friendship. Alternatively, the data may reflect the fact that few Native mothers are employed and that, given their current educational and training levels and the work disincentives associated with SAP, this group's demand for day care may be unusually low. Regardless of the reasons underlying the present limited enrolment of Native children in day care, a viable day-care system must form an integral part of any program that attempts to help Native women improve their economic position through education and training and, ultimately, through employment.

Saskatchewan, in its recent 'Urban Native Package', has clearly recognized the need to extend the availability of day-care services to the Native community. The province does not plan to change the existing program, but to spend more money on dissemination of information, in order to increase the awareness of Native groups about the possibility of forming their own subsidized day-care centres. Once again, unless greater emphasis is placed on cultural factors and child-rearing experience, and less on physical facilities, Native-controlled day-care spaces are not likely to increase appreciably over an extended period of time.

Health Programs

Before we move into a consideration of specific policy issues, let us review some of the basic health data in order that the reader may gain an overall appreciation of the health problems facing Native people in Saskatchewan. The available health data are consistent with the traditional characteristics of a group ensnared in the poverty trap. For instance, diseases of the respiratory system and injuries and deaths attributable to incidents of violence and negligence are much more prevalent among the Indian community than in the total society.[16] Perhaps even more distressing is the suicide rate. In 1977, twenty-eight Saskatchewan Indians committed suicide; this represents the highest per capita rate for Indian people in any province in Canada.[17]

Two other bits of information indicate the nature of the health problems facing Indians in Saskatchewan. First, Indian people have consistently, over the past twenty-five years, utilized roughly 1.8 to 2.2 times as many days of hospital care per capita as non-Indians.[18] This ratio has not declined over time as one might have expected if the relative position of Native people was improving. Secondly, perhaps the most widely quoted statistic that reflects the health status of a group is its infant-mortality rate. In 1975 the neonatal mortality rates, per 1000 live births, were, respectively, 16.0 and 10.7 for the Indians and for the total population of Saskatchewan. By 1978 the corresponding ratios were 13:2 and 9:4 .[19] Although the relative position of Indians has improved, these statistics indicate that with respect to infant care, there is considerable room for further improvement.

Although these data show that a major health problem continues to exist, it is probable that they are also symptomatic of more complicated issues: poverty and social alienation. Clearly one should not look to the established health system for the total removal of these problems; rather, a fundamental restructuring of the social and economic arrangements that impinge on Indian people is required. The data given above pertains to status-Indian people only. It would be interesting to determine whether similar health-status indices apply to Métis/non-status-Indian people, or whether differences follow the patterns observed in the fields of Corrections and Child Care.

Indian people who live in urban areas are not faced with a severe problem of access to institutionally based health care. The utilization rates of such care[20] clearly support this proposition. It might still, however, benefit the Native community if more Native staff were employed in the health-care field. These staff members could be of special assistance in the area of health counselling. Clearly, relevant advice should take into account the environmental, nutritional and economic conditions likely to be experienced by the patient.[21] At present, however, this suggestion must be viewed as a 'fine-tuning' exercise. Without a frontal assault on the problems of income distribution, employment and housing, it is highly unlikely that the critical health issues affecting Saskatchewan's Native people will be brought successfully under control.

The major source of controversy, at the present time, relates primarily to the jurisdictional question. The debate centres around the extent of federal responsibility for Indians, as perceived by Indian leaders and by the federal government itself. According to the prevailing Indian position, the Government of Canada should provide, as a treaty right, a full range of health services, at no charge, to all treaty people, regardless of their place of residence.[22] The federal government's position, at least until September 1979, while maintaining its historic 'on-reserve" stance, was as follows:

> The policy of the Federal Government has been and is that in accordance with its general responsibility in respect of Indians

> it should do what is necessary to ensure that Indians have access to adequate health services so they can achieve a standard of health comparable to that of other Canadians."[23]

In late 1979, the Clark government announced a new Indian-health policy that, among other things, advocated Native persons' "greater involvement in the planning, budgeting and delivery of health programs."[24] Although a greater degree of control in these matters is to be given to Indian people, the primary focus still appears to be on reserve-based activities. For instance, the new policy contains the following statement:

> With respect to Registered Indians residing permanently off-reserve, the policy reiterates that they should receive health services from the province or municipality of residence, but if such services are denied, the federal government will attempt to ensure their provision.[25]

The current political stance of the Province of Saskatchewan is somewhat different; it now recites a modified version of the FSI position: since Treaty Indians are a federal responsibility, regardless of their place of residence, the federal government should either provide health-care services directly to status-Indian people or compensate the provider. The discrepancy between the FSI and provincial positions lies in the term 'provider'. Naturally, if the province supplies health-care services, it wants to be reimbursed, although it would offer little argument against the federal government's reimbursing Indians for services that they provide to their own people.

The FSI, in keeping with its strict constitutional position, sees no official place for the province in the provision of health services to Indian people. Instead, it advocates a separate health-care system, financed by the federal government and controlled and administered by the Native community itself. North Battleford Indian Health Centre, which operates on these lines, is an example of the kind of health-care institution that the FSI supports. The organization is supposedly formulating plans to request federal funds to build and maintain a similar centre in Regina.

From a financial perspective, the adoption of parallel health-care system for Indians in urban areas would result in inefficient delivery of services. This makes little financial sense, especially since Saskatchewan's health-care system is already characterized by wasteful duplication and excessive specialization. However, given the importance that Indian people attribute to protecting their treaty rights, it is unlikely that they will pay heed to financial arguments; instead, one can expect to see increased pressure for the provision of Indian-controlled health facilities in urban areas. The probable result within, say, the next ten years, is not likely to be a full-scale duplication of services; rather, a number of federally funded, Indian-operated, health clinics may be set up in urban areas. Such a 'health mini-system' would service the FSI's legal and political position of stressing the need for direct provision of basic services to Indians, regardless of place of residence, by Indians with federal reimbursement of all expenses involved.

At the present time, the primary Indian/federal government health-related dispute centres on the issue of 'uninsured' health services. These services include the provision of dental care and prescription drugs. Although these services are available to all indigent Indians, it is the broader issue of treaty rights that is in dispute. The debate has been turbulent. The current position is that 'uninsured' services will be provided without a means test until the question of treaty rights is resolved. Thus urban Indian and Métis/non-status-Indian people are eligible for all universally provided health services; when such a person is in receipt of welfare assistance, all medically required services are provided free of charge. It is clear that the provision of health care for Native people is primarily a political, not a technical, issue.

In our consideration of health care, we have not dealt with two health-related fields: alcoholism and psychiatric services. Undoubtedly, both are important from both a social and a health perspective. Nevertheless, we have omitted these subjects because of their specialized nature and because of time constraints.

Housing

Housing problems are primarily a reflection, rather than a cause, of poverty and discrimination. Although it is difficult to express the total extent of current conditions in a quantitative manner, the available data are rather revealing. The FSI found, for instance, that 46 per cent of urban Indian families lived in units in which more than two people shared a bedroom. In fact, among 13.3 per cent of the Indians covered by the survey, four or more people shared a bedroom. Although these data indicate an overcrowding problem, they do not reflect the run-down ghetto-like conditions of much of the Native-occupied housing stock.

An adequate supply of affordable housing is deemed important for a number of reasons. First, teachers frequently report that one of the major difficulties encountered by Native children is excessive mobility. A great degree of this 'across-town' migration can be attributed to inadequate access to suitable housing. Secondly overcrowded housing is often associated with poor sanitation and low hygenic standards and, hence, may account, in part, for the high morbidity rates experienced by Native people. Thirdly adequate housing at affordable prices is thought to contribute positively to a person's self-image and sense of community.

An independent dimension of the housing issue is the location of Native housing. During the past decade, governmental housing policies in Saskatchewan would appear, at least in theory, to have been based on the concept of integration, a euphemism for dispersion. As a result of such a policy, Native housing was to be distributed widely throughout the community; in this way, if at all possible, Native ghettos were to be avoided. Unfortunately, a widespread application of this policy not only generates non-Native concerns but, more important, does not appear to be strongly favoured by Native people.

Social support systems, a sense of community, and potential political block-voting power are fostered only by a reasonable degree of concentration. In addition, given that Native people are, at present, high utilizers of various social and health services, and that they often lack private means of transportation, many of them prefer to locate near the inner-city core. For these reasons:

> Housing programs need to be adjusted to facilitate the development of 'Indian Neighborhoods' in urban centres. Policies of intentionally scattering Indian housing throughout non-Indian neighborhoods should be abandoned. This policy isolates Indian people from any social support and restricts the possibility of successful adjustment to urban living.[26]

The Saskatchewan Housing Corporation (SHC) and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) have recently altered their policies to some extent, and now appear to favour a mild degree of concentration for 'inner-city' Native housing.

Until quite recently, there were very few housing programs directed specifically to Native people. One exception was the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development's Off-Reserve Housing Program, which was set up to assist Treaty Indian people who were *employed* at a modest salary. At the time of writing, approximately *200* Indian people in Regina were repaying mortgages assumed to purchase homes, but the program itself was virtually a spent force. In fact it was reported that from September 1979 to June 1980, not one application for mortgage funds was received from Regina-based Indian people. The program suffers from out-of-date loan limits and high interest rates.

The remaining housing activities take place under the umbrella of the National Housing Act (NHA), which is, in turn, administered by the federally owned CMHC. However, the initiating actor is, in most instances, the provincial housing body, SHC. For many types of non-Native housing, the municipalities play a small initiating and financing role, but for Native projects, their scope is restricted to initiating housing units. For these reasons, I shall focus on SHC's activities, since these exemplify all elements of current housing policy, despite the presence of other actors in the system.[27]

Perhaps the most revealing aspect of SHC's past activity is that the corporation itself estimates that as of 31 December 1979, only 100 of the province's 7000 public housing units were occupied by Native people.[28] Since 5000 of these units are designated for Senior Citizens, only 100 out of 2000 low-income public housing units were occupied by Native people. These statistics undoubtedly indicate the Corporation's past interest in Native housing. This view is reinforced by an examination of SHC's annual reports: for instance, the 1979 report[29] does not contain even one reference to the terms 'Indian', 'Native', 'Métis' or 'Indian ancestry'.

Despite the absence of precise data, the province itself has estimated that of the $61.1 million (in 1979 value) that the provincial government spent on Indian people in 1978-79, only $226 800 was expended on housing activities.[30] Clearly, very little can be accomplished towards building up a suitable Indian housing stock, with such a meagre allocation.

Nevertheless, from 1979 to 1981, SHC has stepped up its Native programming: for instance, the Corporation intended to spend almost $10 million on Native housing in 1980-81, compared to less than $5 million in the preceding year.[31] The only program with a reasonable historical record is the Acquisition of Existing Housing for People of Native Ancestry Program. Under this scheme, as its name implies, existing housing stock is purchased, upgraded, and then rented to Native people on a rent-to-income scale. The applicable rates vary from 17 to 25 per cent of the tenant's income. As of 31 December 1979, SHC owned 406 such units, of which 226 were located in Regina. One hundred and two of these units were administered by Native-controlled non-profit bodies.[32]

The Urban Native Program is another example of a small-scale, ongoing activity. Under this scheme, Native non-profit or co-operative organizations are given subsidies to allow them to provide low-rent housing to Native people. Unfortunately, as I have already implied, this program has so far done little to ease the housing conditions of people of Indian ancestry: for instance, only forty-seven units were on subsidy in Regina at the end of 1979.[33] However, major new initiatives have been announced that should result in the provision of more than two thousand units to people of Indian ancestry, resident in Regina, between 1980 and 1985. One thousand of these units will be supplied under the Native Pilot Project,[34] and 1100 will be provided by the Infil project.[35]

The Infil scheme, in particular, appears to be a potentially beneficial venture. Under this project, SHC will purchase a large number of run-down houses in Regina's inner-city area and will then either renovate or rebuild the units. When these processes have been completed, the homes are to be rented on a rent-to-income basis. Although SHC continues to refer to the target group merely as 'low-income people', there is little doubt that approximately eleven hundred units will be set aside for Native people.[36] Not only does the scheme indicate a serious, albeit a covert, initiative to assist Native people, in supplying their housing needs, but it also locates the housing units where the majority of Native people want to live, that is, in the inner city. By the provision of housing in the city's core area, support services, ethnic community activities, and kinship can be made available and fostered.

A contentious, but important, issue in the private sector rental market is the reputation that Native people, for one reason or another, have acquired of not maintaining their homes. Their failure to care adequately for the housing they occupy is frequently attributed to carelessness, disinterest and worse. However, it would appear that many recent migrants lack past exposure to and experience in many of the basic elements of household maintenance. This point has been mentioned by Native groups, as well as by the Social Planning Secretariat and the Saskatchewan Housing Corporation. In order to deal with this problem, SHC proposes to contract out to Native groups the operation of a Tenant Counsellor Program.[37]

Native housing has, in the past, been treated as a poverty-related problem; yet it is in this area, probably more than anywhere else, that discrimination in one form or another is most prevalent. Given this situation, Urban Native Package seems to offer some hope. It would appear to be a genuine effort to address an area that has been largely ignored by the provincial government, in particular, for a number of years.

Notes

1. For example, see Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, *A Plan for the Socio-Economic Development of Native People* (Regina: The Association, 1979), p. 14.
2. See statements on this issue in Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, *Presentation to the Hall Commission on Medicare* (Saskatoon: The Federation, 1980); and comments by Chief Sanderson, FSI, Regina *Leader Post* (22 January 1980), p. 3.
3. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,

"The New Indian Policy" (Ottawa: The Department, July 1969).

4. The two major documents are the Honourable Alex Taylor, Minister, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services, *Letter* to the Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Regina, 17 April 1973; and the Honourable Jean Chrétien's reply, dated 8 June 1973.

5. At the time of writing, such costs are shared 50:50 between the federal and provincial governments, under the framework of the Canada Assistance Plan.

6. This scheme is thoroughly discussed in Dorothy Zarski, "An Evaluation of the Saskatchewan Assistance Plan", a report prepared for the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services (Regina, July 1979).

7. These are the estimates used by the province's Social Planning Secretariat in its study of urban Native poverty. See Saskatchewan Social Planning Secretariat, "The Dimensions of Indian and Native Urban Poverty in Saskatchewan", (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979).

8. See Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, *Research and Development Project into Service Requirements of Treaty Indian People in Regina* (Regina, 1979), p. 5.

9. Regina Native Women's Association, "Brief Affirmative Action to the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission" (Regina, 14 November 1979), p. 5.

10. Derived from the unpublished December 1979/January 1980 child-care statistics of the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services.

11. Derived from the child-care data reported in note 10, above, and population estimates, as of 30 June 1979, for Saskatchewan Indians and the province's total populace as prepared by the Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan.

12. See Regina *Leader Post* (19 April 1980), p. 23.

13. The pamphlet used, as of June 1980, to describe the REACH program contains the following information:

> Whenever possible, the Social Services of Northern Saskatchewan seeks to place a child in a home with both a mother and father. However, where this is not possible, it is in the best interest of the child to have one parent rather than no permanent family.

Departmental officials indicated to the author that placements with one-parent families are rare. On the other hand, the economic difficulties faced by a large number of families within this classification generally preclude their interest in adoption.

14. The REACH pamphlet discussed in note 13, above, lists the following requirements:

> ...steady income; adequate living accommodation; compatible parent-child age; assurance that prospective parents want and can manage another family member; and a stable, well adjusted family life.

It is apparent that if these criteria are viewed from a middle-class, non-Native perspective, many Native families will not qualify.

15. See Saskatchewan, Department of Social Services, "Departmental Services to Indian People" (Regina, June 1978), p. 21.
16. See C.A.R. Denis and B.L. Pearson, *The Effects of the Living Environment on the Health of Saskatchewan Indians* (Regina, 1978).
17. Derived from Department of National Health and Welfare, *Annual Report 1978: Medical Services Branch* (Ottawa: The Department, 1977), Appendices A.1 and A.4.

18. See Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan, *Annual Report*, various years (Regina).
19. Unpublished documents (1980) obtained from Saskatchewan, Department of Health.
20. See p. 283, above.
21. Department of National Health and Welfare, Medical Services Branch, "Indian Health Discussion Paper" (Ottawa, 19 December 1979), pp. 10-11.
22. Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, *Presentation to the Hall Commission on Medicare* (Saskatoon: The Federation, 1980), p. 4.
23. Department of National Health and Welfare, "Policy of the Federal Government Concerning Indian Health Services" (Ottawa: The Department, 1974), p. 1.
24. Department of National Health and Welfare, *Government of Canada: Indian Health Policy* (Ottawa: The Department 1979), p. 2.
25. The Honourable David Crombie, Minister, Department of National Health and Welfare, Letter to Noel Starblanket, President, National Indian Brotherhood (Ottawa, 19 September 1979), p. 1.
26. Ken Svenson, "The Explosive Years: Indian and Métis Issues in Saskatchewan to 2001" (Regina, 1978), p. 22.
27. Although implied in the text, it must be stressed that CMHC plays an active financial, and sometimes organizational, role in all of the programs listed as taking place under the auspices of the Saskatchewan Housing Corporation.
28. Estimate contained in an internal document of the Saskatchewan Housing Corporation.
29. Saskatchewan Housing Corporation, *Annual Report, 1979* (Regina, 1980).
30. Information obtained from unpublished documents prepared by the

Social Services Planning Secretariat, Saskatchewan Department of Social Services, 1979.

31. See the Honourable Walter E. Smishek, *Debates and Proceedings*, p. 872.

    For a brief outline of SHC's programming for Native people, see Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Saskatchewan Urban Native and Indian Policy" (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979), p. 9.

32. Information obtained from internal documents, Saskatchewan Housing Corporation.
33. Information obtained from internal documents, Saskatchewan Housing Corporation.
34. Regina *Leader Post* (7 September 1979), p. 3.
35. Information obtained from internal documents, Saskatchewan Housing Corporation.
36. Information obtained from internal documents, Saskatchewan Housing Corporation.
37. Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Saskatchewan Urban Native and Indian Policy" (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979), p. 15.

6: Social and Political Organizations

Political Organizations

Many observers would agree that Indian and Métis/non-status people have vastly increased their political power over, say, the past twenty years. They have accomplished this primarily through two political organizations: the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI); and the Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan (AMNSIS). Both of these groups have received substantial and growing 'core' funding from both federal and provincial governments. Adequate unconditional funding is essential if the two organizations are to develop strong, central, administrative machinery. However, the reliance of FSI and AMNSIS on annual allotments inhibits their development on long-term commitments; more important, it may immeasurably reduce the true independence of the recipients. This is an important issue and, to some extent, explains the apparent sense of ingratitude that many non-Natives believe characterizes the Native response to continual governmental assistance.

Perhaps the only viable solution to the problem of financial dependency is for Native people to acquire an independent source of revenue. Indeed, this is one reason why Indian and Métis/non-status people are increasingly focusing on the issues of land claims, aboriginal rights, tax and royalty sharing, and viable economic development.

Among the activities of FSI and AMNSIS is the production of the major Native publications, FSI's *Saskatchewan Indian* and AMNSIS' *New Breed*. These journals fulfill the socially useful functions of increasing Native self-awareness and self-esteem. These attributes must be prevalent within the Native community if it is to make rapid economic, social and political development. Support for the *Saskatchewan Indian* and the *New Breed* has been supplied by the federal government's Secretary of State and the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services.

Other Groups

In addition to the explicitly political organizations, FSI and AMNSIS, there are other groups that place a greater emphasis on the cultural and social aspects of the Native community. However, it must be acknowledged that one cannot entirely dissociate these groups from the field of politics.

Several Native-controlled organizations have attempted to assist their constituents by providing practical day-to-day services. Among the more important of these groups that function in Regina are the Friendship Centre and Regina Native Women. Although both groups offer a large number of valuable services, they have faced ongoing financial difficulties. Indeed, one method by which government could foster Native self-development would be to contract with these groups for the delivery of numerous services to Native people. To some extent, this may take place if the proposed Native Development Board is set up.[1] Its purpose, according to the Social Planning Secretariat, would be to facilitate the delivery of, and exercise quasi-control over, services to Native people by Native organizations. Although opposition can be expected from professional social workers and others with a vested interest in maintaining the current system, implementation of the scheme would be a step forward in the area of Native/non-Native relations.

The Regina Native Race Relations Association is an important group in the area of Native/non-Native relations in the City of Regina. The group was formed in 1977 in response to growing strife between Natives and non-Natives in Regina. Its financial supporters were, and still are, the federal government's Department of the Solicitor General and the Secretary of State Secretariat; the Donner Canadian Foundation; and the City of Regina. The organization has devoted a large part of its efforts to the improvement of police/Native-community relations.[2] However, the organization has also involved itself in a number of cross-cultural activities, school-curriculum committees, and general public awareness programs.[3]

Although success in the field of race relations is extremely difficult to measure, the program has been given a guardedly positive recommendation.[4] Its board consists of voting members representing groups such as the Regina City Police and the Saskatchewan Department of the Attorney General. In addition to its service activities, the very interaction of the board members themselves, given the board's unique composition, has probably led to an improvement in understanding among many of the key actors in the urban milieu.

Mainstream Political Forces

Although Native organizations, especially FSI and AMNSIS, undoubtedly influence provincial and federal government actions through pressure-group tactics and, more subtly, through lobbying, Saskatchewan's Native people are still not directly represented in either the federal or provincial legislatures. Within the City of Regina, they were still unrepresented, as of June 1980, on such important bodies as City Council, the Police Commission, the Regina School Board, and the Catholic School Board.

Admittedly, Native people are not precluded from election or appointment to any of these bodies. However, the likelihood of their obtaining proportional representation through the present electoral and political systems is remote. The reason that this eventuality is so unlikely lies in the diffusion of Native people: they are so scattered that they seldom, if ever, poll a significant vote in any one constituency. In the provincial and municipal constituencies, however, this situation is slowly changing.

Prospects for a major breakthrough are best in municipal politics. The possibility of such a breakthrough was greatly enhanced by the advent of the ward system. Now Regina's Native people have the potential power, through block voting, either to elect their own members or to influence significantly the choice of non-Native candidates. Another major change is possible in the municipal setting: the adoption of a ward system for the election of school-board members.[5] The significance of adopting such a scheme is obvious: rather than allowing Natives a moderate influence throughout the system, the ward system facilitates their making a significant impact in a few locations. This means that Native people could be elected to school boards and could also be represented on other important decision-making bodies.

Notes

1. For a more complete discussion of the concept of the Native Development Board, see Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Attacking Urban Native Poverty: Alternative Government Responses" (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979), pp. 26-28; and Saskatchewan, Social Planning Secretariat, "Saskatchewan Urban Native and Indian Poverty" (Regina: The Secretariat, 1979), p. 14.
2. See pp. 270-71, above.

3. Further details can be found in L. Heinemann, *Regina Race Relations Association: An Interim Evaluation* (Regina, 1979).
4. See Heinemann, *An Interim Report.*
5. As of June 1980, this concept was being explored by a provincially appointed task force.

7: Summary and Conclusions

Overview

This study has reviewed some of the critical issues in each of the five policy areas. The general conclusion must be that in Saskatchewan and particularly in Regina, very little has been achieved for urban Native people from, say, 1960 to June 1980. Whatever progress has been made, has been accomplished through the introduction of a number of anti-poverty, universal, health, education and social service programs.

In general, it is only in the post-1977 period that significant policy initiatives have been undertaken to improve the economic and social well-being of urban Native people. Unfortunately, most of these initiatives had only recently been announced at the time of writing and, hence, I can do little more than comment on their expected impact. Their actual results may, once again, be negligible.

To take a more optimistic point of view, however, one must be impressed, in particular, by the zeal and breadth of purpose shown by the Saskatchewan Government in designing its Urban Native Package. Despite data-base problems and the lack of specific models, the program appears to have a reasonable chance of improving the economic well-being of Native people. It is unfortunate that neither the federal government nor the City of Regina,[1] constrained as they may be by jurisdictional limitations, has shown the same sense of purpose.

Although most Native people appear to be willing to give the Urban Native Package a chance to work, several commentators have pointed out that similar promises have been made before. For instance, the Thatcher government announced grandiose plans in 1969 that were somewhat similar to the Blakeney government's proposition.

Unfortunately, there have been a few disquieting events that have recently led to a certain pessimism on the part of some Native people. For instance, the provincial Cabinet appears to have scaled down the Social Planning Secretariat's original proposals for expenditure. The pessimistic view was reinforced by the Minister of Finance's reported reference to a five-year, $500-million, urban-Native program.[2] As expected, when it was revealed in the provincial budget that the 1980-81 incremental spending on Native activities would be only in the order of $6 to $11 million,[3] the result was disappointment. Clearly, the initial financial effort seems rather slight, especially when one considers the scope of the problem.

In addition, although Saskatchewan must be commended for its willingness to deal with a politically contentious issue, its overall policy does appear to have 'integrationist' overtones.[4] For instance, a major effort is being made to increase Native representation in the public service, Crown corporations, and private sector employment. Success in such endeavours will clearly lead to an improved economic position for Native people. However, there will undoubtedly be dismay in the non-Native Community when Native politicians express continued dissatisfaction with the lot of Native people, despite undeniable economic gains.[5] Underlying Native dissatisfaction is the fact that the province's recent policies largely ignore the critical areas of control over education, land claims, aboriginal rights, and the sharing of royalties and taxes.[6]

Problem Areas

Education and its Control

Although the Community Schools Program is designed to encourage greater participation by the Native people in the educational process, it is clear that the provincial government has not addressed the critical issue of control of Native education by Native parents. It does not appear that Native parents have been granted any real power in the areas of hiring, promotion or discharge of staff; curriculum content; and mode of operation of schools. This situation is one example of the divisive issues that must eventually be faced by the Province of Saskatchewan. If the situation is as it appears, it may reinforce the view of many Native leaders that they cannot effect change within Canada's existing socio-economic/political structure.

Revenue Sharing, Land Claims and Aboriginal Rights

Taxation represents a possible method of providing a revenue base for the accumulation of capital. The acquisition of capital is virtually a prerequisite of any viable long-term, strategy for achieving self-determination. Hence, the absence of any form of revenue sharing in the current government initiative to provide the Urban Native Package is potentially a most serious omission.

Where Treaty Indians are involved, the failure to fund Native organizations and their activities with tax dollars has a legal basis, since a number of treaties exempt Indian people from taxation. In practice, this exemption has generally been interpreted to apply to on-reserve Indians only, but it is not clear that such a restrictive interpretation is appropriate. If their demands were granted, Indian people would have access to funds in lieu of taxes paid directly, or indirectly, by Indian people. More specifically, the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI) takes the position that a portion of transfer payments from the federal to the provincial government should be remitted directly to Indian people. In the FSI's view, since transfer payments are usually based on per capita allocations, and since Indian people are included in the province's population count, it follows that the province is receiving monies that rightfully belong to Indian people.[7] The province, of course, rejects the claim. The government's view is that transfer payments are merely a reimbursement by federal government of the cost of programs that are specifically under provincial jurisdiction.[8] Implicit in this argument is the idea that Indian people may participate in these universal programs if they wish to do so. The province argues, not too convincingly, that the funds it receives are not based on a per capita allocation. In fact, it has gone to great lengths to show that without the Treaty-Indian population in the Established Program Financing (EDF) base, the province could, in some instances, receive even more funding than it is presently granted.[9]

Treaty Indian people believe that they should receive their per capita share of transfer funds to support their own social schemes or to provide for whatever purpose they deem fit. Their argument is based on the legal position that all such services should be provided directly or indirectly to Indian people by the federal government, and that, by definition, the province has no jurisdiction in these fields. It therefore follows that the province is entitled only to these funds in the ratio of non-Indians to the total population.

The Métis/non-status-Indian people have no such legal basis to support their claim, but they could make a claim, based on the more nebulous concept of aboriginal rights, to a share of resource revenues arising from uncompensated lands.[10] If such a position were accepted, they could receive an unspecified percentage of such revenue sources as royalties and property taxes. An example of government recognition of aboriginal rights is provided by the current initiatives in Australia, where, at present, approximately 20 per cent, and ultimately upwards of 40 per cent, of the land in the Northern Territory will be turned over to its historic owners.[11] In addition, in populated areas such as New South

Wales, where most of the surface rights have been alienated from the Crown, a parliamentary group proposed, in mid-1980, that a given percentage of all property-tax revenues should be turned over annually to the state's aboriginal people.[12] Such schemes may be a viable option for Saskatchewan to follow, despite the provincial government's conservative position on aboriginal rights.[13] In fact, it is only through success in this area that Métis/non-status people have any hope of building up a strong sense of self-identity. Clearly, while material prosperity is attainable through total assimilation, self-determination requires an independent funding base.

Target Group

Although the Urban Native Package may have the FSI's tacit approval, Treaty Indian people are no longer explicitly recognized, to any appreciable extent, in the documentation or discussion surrounding it. Supporting evidence for this statement may be found by reviewing provincial government publications. For instance, the Social Planning Secretariat's intial discussion papers made a point of sternly reminding the reader that the terms 'Indian' and 'Native' meant, respectively, Treaty Indian and all others of Indian ancestry. However, by the time the Urban Native Package was presented to the Legislature, the word 'Indian' had been virtually dropped from all discussion; references are generally to 'Native' people, without an accompanying definition. Is the reader to assume, on this basis, that the definitions have changed, or that the target group has been altered? It has been suggested, according to hearsay evidence, that the elimination of the word 'Indian' may have been related to the jurisdictional issues we have previously noted. That is, that the Province of Saskatchewan, in order to be consistent with its stated policy of supporting the FSI's position that Indians are the sole responsibility of the federal government, may have agreed, or decided on its own initiative, to withdraw any mention of Indian programming.

If the new initiatives lead to an improvement in the educational and socio-economic status of Indian people, then this political posturing is of little significance. However, if the Urban Native Package comes to be viewed as a Métis/non-status-Indian program, difficulties may well be encountered. To the extent that Métis/non-status people reflect a common interest and culture with Treaty Indian people, then no problems need occur. It is only if these groups prove to be heterogeneous that the special needs of Indian people will not be addressed.

The social significance of the federal/provincial jurisdictional dispute over responsibility for Native people is widespread. For example, it would appear that the most severe ramifications of the urbanization process are being felt by Indian people. The available evidence on utilization rates as collected by the Child Care, Corrections, and Social Assistance branches of the Saskatchewan Department of Social Services supports this allegation. One can only hope that these concerns are unfounded, and that the sudden shift in terminology merely represents an exercise in semantics.

Conclusions

Current initiatives, rather than proving to be means of increasing the probability that Native people will achieve self-determined and quasi-political independence, may be seen as a sophisticated anti-poverty program, providing token recognition of cultural and ethnic factors. Clearly, success of the Urban Native Package will, at least initially, somewhat muffle the cries of neglect and repression. Nevertheless, it seems far from likely that the basic issue of 'power' can be ignored forever, even in an urban setting.

Recent governmental actions, especially on the part of the Province of Saskatchewan, are commendable, but these policies should be viewed as a necessary, but not a sufficient, means for the alleviation of social and economic deprivation of Native people.

Notes

1. The City Council of Regina has been most reluctant to address the 'urban Native' issue seriously. This attitude stands in stark contrast to the situation in Saskatoon, where these issues are publicly discussed and, to some extent, acted upon. It must be stressed that the Planning Branch of the City of Regina has attempted to alert City Council to the nature of the situation on a number of occasions. For example, see Linda Achter, *Native Issue—1980 and Beyond* (City of Regina, January 1980).
2. See pp. 212-15 above.
3. See pp. 212-15 and Table 1:1, above.
4. For a discussion of such issues at they have arisen in Saskatchewan, see Ken Svenson, "The Explosive Years: Indian and Métis Issues in Saskatchewan to 2001" (Regina, 1978).
5. For example, Regina Native Women's Association, *Brief on Affirmative Action to the Saskatchewan Human Rights Association* (Regina, 14 November 1979), p. 9, states:

   > In conclusion we would ask you to remember that although employment is important it is certainly not the answer to all of our needs and problems as Native people. Some people may feel that by providing jobs to Natives . . . we are going to be happy and the Native problem will disappear. This is not the case. Employment is only one of the many issues and concerns we face. Hopefully, these too will be recognized and dealt with in the near future.
6. See Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, *A Plan for the Socio-Economic Development of Native People* (Regina: The Association, 1979), pp. 12-15.
7. This position has been taken by the Federation of Saskatchewan

Indians on numerous occasions. For example, see Chief Sanderson's statements as reported in the Regina *Leader Post* (22 January 1980), p. 3.

8. The provincial government's position is outlined in an unpublished document: Department of Finance, "Established Programs Financing" (Regina, August 1979), pp. 5-8.
9. Saskatchewan. Department of Finance, "Established Programs Financing" (Regina, pp. 7-8).
10. See Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, *A Plan for the Socio-Economic Development of Native People*, pp. 13-15; Regina *Leader Post* (24 October 1978), p. 45; and Regina *Leader Post* (10 March 1980), p. 3.
11. Although the Australian literature on Aboriginal Land Rights is voluminous, the Canadian reader may find of special significance the paper by Constance D. Hunt, "Aboriginal Land Rights: A Canadian's Impressions", *Northern Perspectives*, 8 (1980).
12. *The Canberra Times*, Canberra, Australia (14 August 1980), p. 3.
13. For instance, present provincial Cabinet Ministers have made statements such as the following:

> I said a year ago that the British North America Act refers to two types of Canadians: citizens and Indians, and that it does not refer to anything called the native community or 'native people'.

(The Honourable Gordon MacMurchy, Minister of Agriculture, "Address to Federation of Saskatchewan Indians' All Chiefs Conference" (Saskatoon, 17 October 1979), p. 1.

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Government Policies and Programs Relating to Urban People of Indian Ancestry in Alberta

James Frideres

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1: Introduction

Native Policy and Programs: An Historical Perspective

Federal Native Policy

Canada's federal Native policy reflects a mixture of both historical and contemporary events. The historical factors include the legacy of French, as well as early British, Native policy. The French policy, which amounted to francization, consisted of baptizing and 'civilizing' Indians and then assimilating them into French colonial life. The early British policy was to establish treaties with the Indians or to purchase lands from them. It was through this policy, formulated in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, that the British attempted to assimilate the Natives of their North American territories.[1] Later, Canada's federal policy acknowledged the necessity of government control over the affairs of Native people, although eventually, under section 69 of the Indian Act, some of this control might be relinquished. Current federal policy reflects, to some extent, the traditional belief in assimilation, although it has been tempered by the basic tenets of multiculturalism.

Alberta's Native Policy

The Government of Alberta, like the federal government, deals with Indians, Métis and other persons of Native ancestry. Its relationship with Indians is heavily influenced by the federal belief in assimilation, although its policy tends to stress the ideology of individualism much more than does federal policy. The autonomy of the provinces in certain matters suggests that Indians are unlikely to be recipients of services provided by the province unless sufficient incentives exist so that provincial decision makers perceive a net advantage in extending provincial services to Indian communities.

In Alberta, two subgroups of Natives, Indians and Métis, are identified as holding special legal status. In general, Indians are considered to be under federal jurisdiction, although off-reserve Indians present specific jurisdictional problems. For constitutional and historical reasons, Indians have been almost exclusively oriented towards Ottawa, although currently there is an attempt being made to convince them that they must begin to view provincial governments and the federal government as partners. It is clear, however, that today, when representatives of the federal government, the provincial government and the Indian community come into contact, either formally or informally, they do not meet as a body moving towards a common goal. Rather, each group has its own perception of a given problem and promotes its own idiosyncratic solution to that problem.

The issue of land claims illustrates this situation. Indians in Northern Alberta have argued for some time that certain of their land claims have not yet been settled. The province, until recently, has not been involved in this issue, claiming that the matter was between Indians and the federal government. Once the federal government agreed to settle certain land claims, it became necessary to establish the criteria for compensation. One criterion agreed upon by both parties was that the number of Indians to be used in calculating the amount of compensation would be the number living on the land involved in the year the settlement was made. Initially, the federal government objected to this arrangement, but eventually it agreed. However, because a transfer of land is involved, and because it is provincial Crown land, the province has a part in the settlement. Alberta takes the position that the amount of the settlement should be based on the land's Indian population of 1899–1901. Since the mid-1970s, first through its Native Secretariat, then through the Attorney General's office, the government has been actively documenting the number of Indians living in specific areas of Alberta at the turn of the century. Simultaneously, Indians have been carrying out similar research, yet neither group communicates with the other.

Alberta, in trying to deal with its Native residents, has created a Ministry of Native Affairs. However, this Ministry is only a secretariat that reports to government departments; it has no powers of policy development nor any ability to deliver programs. The provincial government does not wish to establish a full-fledged ministry to deal with Native Affairs, for if Native Affairs were in the business of developing programs and delivering services, it would add to the present number of public servants and duplicate existing services provided by other departments. The result of this policy is that the Minister of Native Affairs monitors departments that carry out existing programs and suggests the initiation of new programs.

The second 'special status' group, the Métis, is not held to be under federal jurisdiction, but stands in a specific legal relationship to the provincial government. In 1935 the Government of Alberta commissioned a study of the Métis, and a province-wide assessment was made of this segment of the population. The Ewing (Half-Breed) Commission reported to the province in 1936 and made recommendations. In 1938–39 a land-settlement program was implemented through the Métis Population Betterment Act, in which six areas were initially set aside, and eight colonies were established for the Métis.[2] In 1943 the Métis Betterment Trust was set up to manage income generated by the resources of the Métis settlement areas.

The Métis estimate that their lands have generated nearly $50 million from petroleum and gas rights, fees and royalties. Counter to the claims of Métis, the province argues that it has no obligation to place the monies generated from these sources into the Métis trust fund. This conflict, which has been going on since the 1950s, began to receive widespread public attention in the 1970s.[3] In 1976 the Alberta Métis launched a class-action suit on behalf of all Métis in the province. The provincial government responded, in 1977, in a letter from Premier Lougheed to the Métis Federation, that all major requests for program development involving the provincial government would be "carefully reviewed pending settlement of the suit. . . . The government of Alberta will not both litigate and negotiate at the same time." In June 1979 the provincial government 'raided' Métis colony offices and confiscated a considerable number of documents.[4]

Those who create and implement policy do so, we must assume, on the basis of rational planning. We must also assume that these policy enactors have extensive knowledge of the problems involved, and that they have identified some long-term goal related to the enactment of their policy. No single policy can effectively be created in isolation from other policies or programs. Therefore, if we confined our analysis only to government programs as they relate to Native people in Alberta, we should be providing the reader with a biased and incomplete assessment.

The Province of Alberta has chosen to integrate its public and private programs. To ignore the private programs in making our analysis of public policy and programs would result in the presentation of a distorted perspective of the developmental implementation of Native policy. Non-political community or 'pressure' groups quickly come to realize that the Alberta government prefers to have local organizations carry out the objectives of its programs. Before a group interacts with the provincial government, however, it must formally organize and register under the Alberta Societies Act.

Government officials offered a number of explanations for the adoption of this megapolicy: the existence of private organizations prior to government intervention; cost factors; protection of the provincial government from direct influence by the general public. Whatever the explanation, many of the programs that presently deal with Native people are non-governmental, although they receive considerable funding from the provincial government and, to a large extent, are subject to that government's control. Few of the government departments funding these agencies have resources specifically earmarked for this purpose; rather, they utilize money from their general budgets to support these private programs.

Native Migration in Alberta

In the past few decades the population of Alberta has largely shifted from rural to urban residence. Native people have followed this overall trend, although it would seem that the established population of urban centres has not prepared for the influx of Native people. Table 1:1 illustrates the increasing urbanization of Indians in Alberta. For example, in 1966, 92 per cent of Alberta's Indian population lived on reserves or on Crown land. Ten years later, less than 80 per cent of these people were still living on this land. More recent surveys show a further decrease in the number of Natives remaining on reserve or Crown land. Fewer and fewer Native people in the most highly mobile age groups (those whose ages range from

Table 1:1: Percentage Distribution, by Age Group, of Registered Indian Population Residing on Reserves in Alberta 1966, 1971, 1976; Projections for 1981 and 1986[a]

	Age Groups							
Year	*0 – 14*	*15 – 19*	*20 – 24*	*25 – 29*	*30 – 44*	*45 – 64*	*65+*	*Total*
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1966[b]	92.9	94.2	90.2	87.6	87.4	94.0	95.0	92.0
1971[b]	86.2	90.3	85.6	81.3	83.1	90.8	96.6	86.6
1976	77.3	81.8	79.0	72.8	76.1	84.7	92.5	78.7
1981	74.8	78.6	75.5	68.9	72.3	81.9	90.9	75.6
1986	71.9	75.1	71.6	64.6	68.1	79.1	89.4	72.1

Notes

a. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, "Registered Indian Population by Age, Sex and Residence, for Alberta 1966 to 1976" (Ottawa: Program Reference Centre 1980).

Unpublished worksheets, Research Support Section, Research Branch, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program.

b. In order to make the trends comparable, off-reserve population figures for 1966 and 1971 have been adjusted on the basis of a change in the residence definition which occurred in 1974.

twenty to twenty-nine years) are living on reserves, and demographic projections suggest this trend will continue.

An increasing number of Native children and teenagers are living off reserves. This is true of most provinces, but particularly of the Prairie provinces. The data also reflect increases in off-reserve residence in the age group of Natives ranging from thirty to fifty-nine years. This suggests that both married adults and single parents are beginning to make long-term commitments to urban life and are bringing their children to urban centres.

An analysis of trends in Native off-reserve migration shows that there has been a 4 per cent increase in the number of Indians living off reserves from 1968 to 1975. However, it is evident that while that number is increasing, so is the number of Indians living on reserves. Thus there may be moderate increases in the number of Natives migrating to urban centres in the near future simply because the total Indian population is growing. Little specific attention has been paid to the urbanization of Native people by federal, provincial or municipal governments or by Native people themselves. Well into the 1970s, the attention of both Natives and government was narrowly focused on rural issues, and the urban Native was generally ignored. It was only from 1975 that governments began to be aware of the urban migration of Natives, and they are still trying to decide whether new programs need to be introduced, existing programs changed, or old programs terminated. Native people and their organizations have also tended to focus on non-urban issues, preferring to exert pressure and utilize financial and personal resources on issues such as land claims and aboriginal rights, treaty concerns and band policies.

A Socio-Demographic Profile

In 1978 the Indian population of Alberta stood at approximately thirty-six thousand; in addition, sixty thousand Métis lived within the provincial boundaries. The status-Indian population constituted 1.9 per cent of the total population of Alberta, while the overall Native population brought the figure close to 5 per cent.[5] The annual growth rate for the Indian population has decreased during the 1970s from 3.8 per cent to approximately 3.0 per cent. This compares with a total provincial growth rate of 2.6 per cent in 1976. Demographers are projecting further declines in the future. (See Table 1:2) The decline in the annual growth rate is partially a result of the reduced birth rate and a continued high death rate.[6] A majority of Indian bands have memberships of less than a thousand; 44 per cent of these bands number from 301 to 1000 persons. Only 4 per cent have populations over 2000, and the same percentage number fewer than 100 persons. The pattern is somewhat similar in other provinces.

Table 1:3 sets out the numerical data for Alberta's Indian and total provincial populations by selected age groups. It shows that young adults, ranging from fifteen to twenty-nine years of age, now make up nearly 30 per cent of the province's total Indian population; this percentage is expected to increase by 1986. Overall, the age-distribution figures for Indians are following the same trend as the figures for the provincial population, with the exception of the young-adult group.

Administration

Indians in Alberta have been assigned to six districts administered by a district supervisor; all these supervisors report to a regional director. Each district has five areas of specialization, among them education and social services, that are controlled by officials of the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program (IIAP). Prior to April 1979, each district supervisor had both administrative and program responsibilities. Hence each of the area supervisors for any program reported on all aspects to both the district and regional directors. After that date the administrative structure was

Table 1:2 Registered Indian and Provincial Populations for Alberta, 1966, 1971 and 1976, Projections for 1981 and 1986[a]

	Registered Indian [b]		*Provincial*	
Year		*Average Population Growth Rate*[c]	*Annual (000s)*	*Average Population Growth Rate*[c]
	Number	%	Number	%
1966	25 569		1 463.2	
		3.8		2.3
1971	30 430		1 627.9	
		3.0		2.6
1976	34 966		1 838.0	
		2.3		3.5
1981	38 948		2 160.6	
		2.4		3.4
1986	43 575		2 525.6	

Notes

a. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, "Registered Indian Population by Age, Sex and Residence for Alberta, 1966 to 1976" (Ottawa: Program Reference Centre, 1980).

Unpublished worksheets, Research Support Section, Research Branch, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program.

Statistics Canada, *Population by Sex and Age, 1921-1971* (cat. no. 91-512); *Population: Revised Annual Estimates by Sex and Age, 1971-76* (cat. no. 91-518).

Statistics Canada, *Population Projections for Canada and the Provinces, 1976-2001* (cat. no. 91-520), 1979.

b. The Registered Indian population from 1966 to 1976 is adjusted for late reported births and 1-4 year olds; unstated ages are excluded.

c. The growth rates are five-year average annual growth rates.

---

changed. For example, a staff member engaged in promoting economic development now reports to the district supervisor on administrative matters, but to the manager of the regional centre on program matters. More recently the structure within each district has also been changing. There are three levels of bureaucracy, and these are represented by the regional director, the district manager, and the heads of each of the five program areas. Indians have long argued that the administrative machinery of IIAP is top-heavy and, as a result, too much money is spent to maintain personnel that should be spent on Indians and on solving the problems facing them. They have also claimed vociferously that they "could do the same damn job that you people IIAP are doing in Calgary and . . . do it better." The reality of these arguments has been partly brought to fruition in the Slave Lake and St. Paul areas of Alberta, where field operations have been taken over by Indians.

Until very recently, the Alberta Métis were under the jurisdiction of the province's Department of Social Services and Community Health. However, in 1980, the provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs took over administrative responsibilities for the Métis. While no formal administrative zones exist, the Métis, numbering 3200 persons, are divided into eight 'colonies'.

The present political climate of Alberta should be placed in its historical context so that the nature of Alberta's Native policy and its implementation, particularly in the realm of federal-provincial relations, can be assessed. The single most important document that has emerged in Alberta is *The Case for Alberta* published in 1938. Even though this document is over forty years old, the problems it presents still appear in the briefs of the present government. This paper graphically illustrates Alberta's deep sense of frustration with the federal government and its policies. Its basic theme--and that of more recent documents, as well--is that the federal government has consistently failed to deal with any of the social or economic needs of Albertans.

In the early 1960s, Alberta's Premier Manning thought that the Social Credit Party should take a new direction. The Party's new policy perspective was to focus on people and mark a return to a humanist political thrust. The result of this policy was the creation of an elaborate structure of 'people-oriented' programs, relating specifically to education, health and welfare. By the mid-1960s, Alberta stood well above the national average for per capita spending on welfare, health and culture.

It was during this same period that Alberta began to develop a program to break the Native-poverty cycle. Through the early and mid-1960s, members of the provincial government's Community Development Branch went into Native communities to develop programs and a Native-leadership structure. The overall purpose of the Branch was to break down the traditional system of 'handling' Natives through welfare maintenance, and to make these people aware of how the political system worked so that they could use it, along with their resources, to develop their own potential. One retired official has said, "The government considered that Natives had once been a proud people, but since the turn of the century, they had been nothing more than puppets to be shuffled around by anyone who controlled the strings."

Table 1:3[a] **Registered Indian**[b] **and Provincial Populations by Selected Age Groups for Alberta 1966, 1971, 1976; Projections for 1981 and 1986**

		Age Groups			
		0 – 14		*15 – 29*	
Year		Reg. Indian	Prov. (000s)	Reg. Indian	Prov. (000s)
1966	N	13 204.	510.7	6 250.	323.2
%	51.6	34.9	24.4	22.1	20.5
1971	N	15 437.	514.5	7 791.	421.9
%	50.7	31.6	25.6	25.9	20.2
1976	N	16 476.	503.1	10 080.	544.4
%	47.0	27.4	29.1	29.6	20.9
1981	N	16 529.	547.5	12 584.	636.5
%	42.4	25.3	32.3	29.5	22.0
1986	N	17 055.	641.7	14 630.	674.1
%	39.1	25.4	33.6	26.7	24.3

Notes

a. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, "Registered Indian Population by Age, Sex and Residence, for Alberta 1966 to 1976" (Ottawa: Program Reference Centre, 1980).

Unpublished worksheets, Research Support Section, Research Branch, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program.

Statistics Canada, *Population by Sex and Age, 1921-*

Age Groups					
30 – 64				*15 – 64*	
Reg. Indian	Prov. (000s)	Reg. Indian	Prov. (000s)	Reg. Indian	Prov. (000s)
5 238.	525.3	877.	104.0	11 488.	848.5
20.5	35.9	3.4	7.1	45.0	58.0
6 139.	572.7	1 063.	118.8	13 930.	994.6
20.2	35.2	3.5	7.3	45.8	61.1
7 221.	652.6	1 189.	138.0	17 301.	1 197.0
20.9	35.5	3.4	7.5	50.1	65.1
8 580.	813.1	1 256.	163.4	21 163.	1 449.6
22.0	37.6	3.2	7.6	54.3	67.1
10 588.	1 015.8	1 302.	193.9	25 218.	1 689.9
24.3	40.2	3.0	7.7	57.9	66.9

1971 (cat. no. 91-512); *Population: Revised Annual Estimates by Sex and Age, 1971-1976* (cat. no. 91-518).

Statistics Canada, Population Projections for Canada and the Provinces, 1976-2001 (cat. no. 91-520), 1979.

b. The Registered Indian population from 1966 to 1976 is adjusted for later reported births and 1-4 year olds; unstated ages are excluded.

The Branch viewed itself as an agent of change and, as such, provoked the wrath of some federal Indian officials, church leaders, provincial civil servants, and even Natives themselves. It had defined its goal as one of breaking the Native dependency on external agents that had developed over time. In an attempt to achieve this goal, a number of social and economic experiments were carried out: for example, the Branch's involvement in Fort Chipewyan and the development of a sawmill operation in Wabasca.

By the late 1960s, Premier Manning produced a White Paper on human resource development, which declared his government's intention of making the development of human resources its first priority. Specifically, he wanted to deal with the economically and socially deprived residents of Alberta. Later, Indian legal specialists were instructed by Premier Strom to investigate the Indian issue and to advise the provincial government on a course of action.

The Government of Alberta took the position that all its citizens and groups should have equal access to its programs and services. It stated that it would remove any discriminatory barriers that existed and would phase out 'separate but equal' programs based on ethnic characteristics. To this end, the Alberta White Paper stated that it would:

(a) Endeavour to persuade the Government of Canada to enter into a comprehensive agreement which will allow the Indian people, under federal jurisdiction, to receive wherever possible the same facilities and services as are available to other residents of the province.

(b) Assure to Métis and to Indian people under provincial jurisdiction access to services and development programs on the same basis as all other residents in similar social and

> economic circumstances and encourage them to become self-determining and responsible residents of Alberta on the same legal basis as other citizens.[7]

The provincial government was aware of the federal government's plan to turn over to the provinces the financial administration and delivery of services. This arrangement had tentatively been mapped out in the Hunter-Motherwell Agreement early in the 1960s and would appear in a very different form in the 1969 federal White Paper. The provincial government realized that by allowing the federal government to make the first move in policy development and implementation, it would be limiting its scope for future action in these matters. Thus it decided that it would take a stance before the federal government had a chance to develop an organizational structure that would be extremely difficult to change once it was in place.

A major policy shift occurred when, in 1969, the federal government presented its "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy". Besides the implication that Indians would not have a special status in Canada, one of the major points made in this document was that the provinces should assume responsibility for Indians living within their boundaries. Although this point was eventually withdrawn by the federal government, it continued to give direction to Indian policy until the late 1970s. For example, the following exerpt from a letter, dated 30 April 1971, from the Minister of Indian Affairs to the Prime Minister, indicates that the policy put forward in 1969 was not totally inoperative:

> The course upon which we are now embarked seems to present a more promising approach to the long-term objectives than might be obtained by setting specific deadlines for *relinquishing federal administration.* [8]

Three years later, recommendations emerging from a conference of regional directors of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) were to the effect that the Department should study methods of phasing out the delivery of DIAND services to off-reserve Indians and determine what transitional programs it should provide. This seemingly consistent attempt by the federal government to terminate its special relationship with Indians has led to deeply hostile reactions on the part of Indians and to bewilderment and confusion on the part of many provincial officials. In 1975 DIAND published a series of departmental circulars pertaining to local Indian government. These circulars established the program through which Indian self-government would be furthered. However, Indians did not see the circulars as promoting Native self-government, but rather as an attempt to impose stronger federal government control on them, as well as to allow that government to withdraw from its responsibility of providing programs for them.

Since the 1970s, the provincial government has made serious efforts to decentralize programming by developing it extensively throughout all areas of the province. Its goal is to carry its programs to people where they live, rather than to require people to relocate in a major metropolitan area in order to have access to specific programs.

The policy adopted by the Government of Alberta in the early 1970s was not specifically directed toward Natives. Although it did recognize ethnic differences, it established no programs particularly for Natives. The provincial government took, and continues to take, the position that all residents of Alberta, regardless of their racial origin, are eligible for all provincial programs. In fact, ethnic or racial (Affirmative Action) programs are not to be implemented. Alberta would, however, support programs specifically directed to Indians because of the involvement of the federal government in programs for these people.

The position taken by Alberta with regard to providing programs and services for Treaty Indians is a result of discussions that took place in the mid-1950s between the provincial government and Indian leaders. The overall theme of those discussions was the Indians' desire for access to provincial services and, at the same time, their reluctance to pursue those services actively for fear of eroding their historical relationship with the federal government.

In 1977 the Alberta government undertook an extensive analysis of provincial programs and services available to Treaty Indians. This review formed part of the background study necessary to the provincial government as it continued to hold negotiations with the federal government. The provincial government took the position that it wished to provide for *all* Albertans the maximum opportunity for personal, social and economic advancement, and for this reason had undertaken to define its own role in the provision of services to Treaty Indians. After considering the matters involved, the provincial government adopted the policy of recognizing, and making its services and programs available to, Treaty Indians and Indian bands on the same basis as it did to other residents of the province.[9]

This policy, an updated version of the Hunter-Motherwell Agreement of the early 1960s, seems to focus on reserve Indians, although the implications for urban Natives are obvious. Though its actual legal status is not clear, that agreement between the federal and provincial governments stated, in essence, that when Indians moved to an urban area, they would be classified in one of two ways: DIAND would look after those who were unemployable, while the province would look after those who were employable. Under that letter of agreement, then, the province would provide welfare services to Treaty Indians living off reserves. Later, however, the province would revert to a policy position where it claimed that the federal government was solely responsible for

Indians.[10] This method of dealing with Native people in need was closely related to the federal policy of declaring Indians who had lived off reserves for more than one year the responsibility of the provincial government, even though they still remained band members.

Under the new policy of 1978, Alberta would assume the full cost of delivering services to Treaty Indians residing off reserve, provided that the federal government agreed to furnish and maintain a level of services to Indians on reserves equivalent to the provincial standards, and to reimburse the province fully for the services it delivers to Indians on reserves on fee-for-service basis. This policy will make provincial services and programs available to recognized Treaty Indians and Indian bands living in Alberta on the same bases as those on which these services and programs are provided for other Alberta residents. Their provision is subject to the following conditions:

- Continued recognition of Indians' special treaty rights
- Formal request by a band council
- Establishment of an acceptable financial arrangement between the federal and provincial governments.

The plan outlined above would be implemented, on a gradual basis, with full implementation in ten years.[11] Its gradual implementation is a result of the different levels of development that the forty-two bands in the province have attained.[12] Three years after the adoption of the policy, it had yet to be implemented, and Indians will continue to resist its implementation until they have defined its implications.

Notes

1. It has been suggested that prior to 1830, Indian policy was military in motivation. See R. Price (ed.), *The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties* (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1979).

2. Total land area of the settlement was 3200 square kilometres. Métis argue that some settlement must be made for the government's reclaiming the Wolf Lake area in 1960.
3. In 1971 the Alberta government made a policy statement to the effect that Métis would thenceforth be allowed to manage their own affairs.
4. The Ministry of Social Services and Community Health explained that since it had jurisdiction over the Métis, it was recalling government papers from government-owned buildings.
5. Because different enumerating agencies define Indians differently, it is difficult to compare statistics on Indians. For a more detailed discussion on socio-demographic attributes of Alberta Indians and other Canadian Indians, the reader should consult Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Indian Conditions: A Survey* (Ottawa: The Department, 1980).
6. In 1963 the infant Indian mortality rate was 57/1000. This rate decreased to 26/1000 by 1976. The total provincial figures for the same periods were 20/1000 and 11/1000. Indian birth rates in 1967 were 47/1000, which was double the total provincial rate. By 1976 the Indian rate had declined to 33/1000, compared to the total provincial rate of 18/1000.
7. Government of Alberta, White Paper (Edmonton, 1969), pp. 79–80.
8. Emphasis added.
9. The province takes the position that because most of the reserves in Southern Alberta are close to major highways and so have ready access to hospitals and other medical facilities in large urban areas, provision of medical and social services does not pose a problem.
10. In an interview with some provincial field personnel, the author was informed that the racial/legal status of many Native persons was ignored so that social allowance payments could proceed through the

system, rather than having the process held up by first trying to decide which level of government was responsible for a particular person.

12. The ten-year plan is based on the understanding that the provincial government lacks the resources, both of personnel and of special supplies, to provide all the required services in less than that length of time. It is also based on the fact that the plan can only be implemented at the request of local bands.
13. Programs and services that are in place on reserves, by legislation or by order-in-council, will continue to be provided on the same basis as at present and will not be subject to the conditions of the new policy.

2: Manpower and Economic Development

Background

Even though Alberta has become internationally known for its large reserves of gas and oil, agriculture has, until very recently, been its largest single industry. Until the 1970s, manpower policies focused on the preparation of residents for skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the industrial sector, but the province did not train or provide training for people to acquire professional or managerial skills at any occupational level. Since the early 1970s, however, the provincial government has attempted to provide training in oil-related industries through increased financing of the technical schools.

During the last few years, Alberta's labour force has expanded at an annual rate of more than 3 per cent. This means that every year over 20 000 new jobs are required to absorb people entering the labour force. From 1966 to 1971, the unemployment situation (as defined by the Alberta government) became more serious each year: the average unemployment rate of 2.1 per cent in 1966 more than doubled to reach 4.7 per cent in 1971 and remained at that level for several years. It was not until the late 1970s that the unemployment rate fell: in 1980 it stood at 3.7 per cent. Job creation in the province was having difficulty in keeping pace with the increase of the labour force. The net effect was that the unemployment rate of 1971 went as high as that of 1961. Alberta considers these levels of unemployment unacceptable, although compared to those of other areas of Canada or to world unemployment levels, they might be considered acceptable.

The Federal Involvement

In the 1950s the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) created the Indian Revolving Fund, a loan fund to assist small business; by 1970 the Department had invested $50 million in this fund. In 1970 the Indian Economic Development Fund was introduced to replace the Indian Revolving Fund and to stimulate commercial and industrial development. DIAND estimates that about $250 million has been spent during the past decade. The objectives of this fund are to:

- Meet limitations in Indian access to traditional financing mechanisms
- Counteract Indian lack of business experience
- Alleviate the problems of poor physical accessibility.

In the mid-1970s a new policy emerged from DIAND that strengthened Indian control over projects. According to the Department's claim, efforts to support Indian economic development had evolved during the preceding ten years from a narrow, passive, and financially limited funding program, through an aggressive, industrial and commercial, *on*-reserve-development approach, to an integrated strategy in which community development, skills development, and public and commercial investment functioned together to accomplish economic and social goals.

At the time of writing, no reliable figures were available for 1980 unemployment levels of Indians. However, estimates indicate that the rate of Native unemployment was about 54 per cent in 1979.[1] According to these estimates, 75 per cent of employed Indians were working on their reserves, while the remainder were working off reserve. The labour-force/dependency ratio of any group is an important factor in considering its economic conditions. (See Table 2:1.)

Provincial Action

In 1964 the Alberta government launched a community-development program that was aimed directly at Native communities. The program was instituted after a government-funded internal study compared the socio-economic status of Indians and non-Indians in Alberta. It was introduced to combat the rise of welfare payments to Natives and, at the same time, to encourage Natives to integrate into mainstream Canadian life. However, after an administrative structure was put in place, little financial or practical assistance was provided to carry out the policy. Two major factors brought about the demise of the program. First, institutional arrangements satisfactory for middle-class residents were not sufficiently modified to prove successful with Natives. Secondly, the provincial government's definition of the problem to be alleviated was narrow, in that it covered only the economic aspect. The government failed to acknowledge that the problem of Native development is not one-dimensional, but multi-faceted, though its various aspects are interrelated.

> In 1976 the ratio of the dependent population (from birth to fourteen years and sixty-five years and over) to the labour force-aged population (15 to 64 years old) was 102 dependents per 100 persons in the fifteen to sixty-four year age group for Indians, compared to a provincial dependency ratio of 56 per

Table 2:1 [a] **Dependency Ratios for Alberta's Registered Indian Population** [b] **by Residence and the Total Provincial Population, 1966 to 1976; Projections for 1981 and 1986**

Registered Indian Population

Year	Total			On Reserve		
	Total Dependency Ratio	Child-Dependency Ratio	Elderly Dependency Ratio	Total Dependency Ratio	Child-Dependency Ratio	Elderly-Dependency Ratio
1966	122.7	114.9	7.6	125.7	117.7	8.0
1971	118.4	110.8	7.6	119.1	110.6	8.5
1976	102.2	95.2	7.0	101.3	93.2	8.1
1981	84.0	78.1	5.9	84.6	77.4	7.2
1986	72.8	67.6	5.2	74.6	68.2	6.5

Notes

a. Unpublished worksheets, Research Support Section, Research Branch, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1 September 1980.

b. The registered Indian population from 1966 to 1976 is adjusted for late reported births and 1-4-year-olds; unstated ages are excluded.

Off Reserve			*Provincial Population*		
Total Dependency Ratio	Child-Dependency Ratio	Elderly Dependency Ratio	Total Dependency Ratio	Child-Dependency Ratio	Elderly-Dependency Ratio
92.3	88.2	4.1	72.5	60.2	12.3
113.9	112.0	1.9	63.7	51.8	12.0
105.1	102.8	2.3	55.6	43.0	11.7
82.3	80.1	2.2	48.4	38.2	10.2
68.2	66.3	1.9	49.4	38.0	11.4

c. Total dependency ratio is the ratio of children under the age of 15, plus the elderly (aged 65 and over) to the population aged 15 to 64 years.

d. Child-dependency ratio is the ratio of children under the age of 15 to the population aged 15 to 64 years.

e. Elderly-dependency ratio is the ratio of elderly (aged 65 and over) to the population from 15 to 64 years.

> 100. . . . Nevertheless, the increase in the so-called "productive" population will have significantly reduced the dependency burden in 1980 in the Indian population. However, the productive Indian population includes many who are unemployable (*i.e.*, students, handicapped, etc.) If they are added to the dependent population, the economic burden borne by the remaining labour force population would increase.[2]

The Alberta government announced in 1981 that it planned to spend $1.2 million over the next three years to assist Native businesses in the province. The money would be provided through the Business Assistance for Native Albertans Corporation (BANAC). At the same time, the province renewed its efforts to encourage private industry to create a fund to provide 'start-up' money for Native-owned businesses. Tentatively, a steering committee of private companies has been created, with a target of raising $6 to $10 million.

The rationale for establishing the special fund, as well as the private-industry fund, is similar to that of the federal government. However, it was also considered that the administrators of the industry-sponsored fund would be more willing than the government to lend money to support high-risk ventures. The money in the special fund was to be used to assist Native-owned businesses to bid on contracts and to provide management advice and accounting assistance to Indian businesses. The provincial government's involvement stems from its view that Indian businesses need 'seed' money and are unable to obtain large sums of money from traditional lending sources. However, the fund's money will be made available only to Natives who have a viable plan for a business operation.

Federal Action

As a result of the Alberta government's White Paper of 1969, the federal government established a program to make substantial funds available for investment by Indians. The Indian Economic Development Fund (IEDF) was primarily a loan fund that made money available at a conventional rate of interest.[3] In order to be eligible for a loan from this source, businesses had to incorporate, and leases for reserve land on which they would be situated had to be surrendered. The land-leasing requirement would allow such a business to be subject to provincial taxes and might allow the land itself to be expropriated. For these reasons, most Indians bands are reluctant to participate in this program.

While the IEDF has been the major vehicle for economic development among Alberta's Native people, programs from other federal departments have been initiated during the past ten years. These programs have broader purposes than Indian economic development. Programs such as Young Canada Works and Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP) have a short-term job-creation component and labour-market skills are developed through training in such programs as Canadian Manpower Training and Canada Manpower Industrial Training.

Joint Federal-Provincial Projects

Some Native businesses have been founded by the joint efforts of the provincial and federal governments, but they have not proved successful. One provincial offical stated, "We have found that ideological differences could not be resolved satisfactorily." For example, in 1971 Alberta Newstart Incorporated was created. This experimental private company was created through the co-operation of the federal Minister of Manpower and Immigration and the Alberta Minister of Education. The general purpose of the company was to prepare unemployed and under-employed adults for stable and gainful employment. The company's objectives were to develop, implement and evaluate new intervention systems in order to improve the social and economic levels of disadvantaged persons. The Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) initially funded the project totally and agreed to withdraw funding as the province contributed. However, as the federal government cut back its contribution, the provincial government failed to make up the difference. The result was that by 1972 the entire program had been dismantled.

Employment Policies

The Government of Alberta bases its employment policies on a belief in the rights of the individual within our democratic society. It takes the position that each Alberta citizen has a right to the opportunity to achieve the highest possible income and standard of living. The government also holds that along with this right, the individual has an obligation to society. Its position is that all members of Canadian society have the *responsibility* to contribute as best they can to the creation of income through productive employment. (The creation of income through employment is essential to the achievement of a good standard of living.) If employment is to provide the major source of income for an individual or a family, interventive methods of supplying income (such as social assistance payments) should be used only when employment is not possible. Productive employment serves both the individual and society: it helps to bring the individual and family more fully into society; it gives status; it brings individual satisfaction; and all these effects, in turn, make for a sound social fabric.

Given the truth of these premises, appropriate opportunities must be available to *all* citizens of Alberta so that every Albertan who is physically and mentally capable may have the opportunity to take part in productive employment. While employment opportunities must be increased, the risk of unemployment must be reduced; so must the impact of unemployment when it does occur. Whether or not Alberta's citizens take advantage of the increased opportunities for employment is quite another matter, and one that is certainly relevant for Native people.

Jobs are available all over the province, and it is the *responsibility of Natives* to relocate in order to take advantage of these employment opportunities. If Native people do not do so, their failure to act becomes their choice, and they should be aware of the consequences of their decision.

In order to implement these convictions, the Alberta government, through its Manpower Policy, encourages the creation of new jobs and the modification of existing jobs to suit the potential labour force. This job-creation activity includes the establishment of small businesses, the development of rural areas, and the expansion of cultural and tourist enterprises, as well as the development of selected major enterprises. Alberta's Manpower Policy also deals directly with the needs of the potential labour force and undertakes to assist its members, including the young, those over forty-five years of age, those living at poverty levels, and those requiring special attention. Although the policy must take into account both job creation and the preparation of people for available jobs, it is based on the conviction that jobs exist for people, and not people for jobs. This concept puts the individual first. It also points the way to lasting and useful employment, rather than to stopgap, short-term, make-work approaches.

With regard to manpower and economic programs, however, the Government of Alberta does not consider Indians as 'Albertans' because their reserves are not municipalities and do not pay taxes. On the other hand, the provincial government is very much of the opinion that a sound economic base is crucial for Native people if they are to break the cycle of poverty. For this reason, this government has consistently set forth policies to advance the economic conditions of Native people. These policies have been implemented by establishing a number of training/education programs[4] that will enable Natives to participate actively in the labour force. Generally speaking, however, these policies have not been translated into economic projects created specifically for Natives. Some seasonal programs such as the Fire Fighting Training Program and the Employment Training Program have been directed specifically toward Natives, but all Albertans are eligible to enrol.

The provincial policy on economics assumes that Natives will participate in businesses established by private enterprise or government. For example, the Northeastern Alberta Manpower Development Committee was established to ensure that local people, both Native and non-Native, have an opportunity to be involved in the expanding oil-sands development.

The Alberta government does not fund economic development projects as 'Indian' projects, but rather, tries to integrate its Native citizens into the existing economic structure of the province. Each proposal submitted by Indians, as by any other Albertans, to various government agencies is assessed as a *potential business venture*. If the project demonstrates good business principles and sound management practices, it is funded. In other words, projects are not given special treatment merely because they have been submitted by Indians. Should a project require support in the way of funding by the provincial government, the decision to provide funding would be based on the number of jobs it could create, and the contribution it could make to the province's overall economy. Alberta now takes the position that program-policy decisions are made on the assessed merits of the programs themselves, and not on the basis of who is submitting the proposal, or whether or not cost sharing is available from the federal government.

The provincial policy acknowledges that there are cultural differences between Natives and non-Natives; it therefore tries to make the employment milieu more structured for Natives and to provide a variety of support systems, such as counselling services. It also believes that the reserves should form the initial context in which Natives are prepared to enter the labour force. Concurrently, however, it believes that the reserves should *not* expand in physical size or in economic capacity. When bands submit projects to the province that relate to development on the reserve, the projects are generally referred to the federal government because the province holds that the welfare of Indians is a federal responsibility. To date, the provincial government has funded few Indian projects.

Employment Programs

Job-Creation Programs

The Government of Alberta realizes that it can influence job creation in a variety of ways. The most direct method is that of increasing the level or extent of its own services. While no specific statistics are available, a number of senior public servants have estimated that the rate of increase of government jobs is about eight per cent per year.[5] (In 1971 there were 18 000 public servants, and this number had increased to over 50 000 by 1978.) In 1978 the federal government developed a policy for hiring more Natives. Three years later, the Treasury Board announced that because government departments had not adopted this policy, new procedures would be implemented to carry it out.

A second method of job creation utilized by the Alberta government consists of the construction of capital projects, such as the Oil Sands Project. The choice of project depends both on the relative importance assigned by Albertans to a variety of wishes and needs and on the government's meeting least-cost objectives.

The sphere of regulation is a third important area of government involvement, which directly affects job creation in the private sector. Regulatory decisions primarily affect the natural-resource industries, which directly affect, in turn, the rate and level of job creation in Alberta. These decisions also have an impact on the labour-force flow from the agricultural sector into the industrial sector, since they affect, for example, the right of companies to proceed with coal-mining activities, the building of dams to create hydro power, and oil exploration. In addition, provincial regulations passed at various times have also affected the province's employment situation through changing minimum-wage levels and imposing wage and price restraints. Controls in these areas directly influence decisions by agriculture and industry operating in the private sector. Consumer-protection and pollution-control legislation can also have significant impact on industrial activity.

While its view may be changing, the Alberta government has decided that for the present, job creation belongs properly within the private sector. Since the change in government of 1971 and the energy crisis, the Government of Alberta has acted as "entrepreneur in a regional capitalist development".[6] The major thrust of all its policy and programs has been one of involving the province in the planning and promotion of economic growth. However, the involvement of the provincial government in "the development and growth of the province is one of controlled intervention".[7] Until recently, the provincial government avoided public ownership or the creation of Crown corporations as a technique of intervention. It has, instead, relied on the strategy of joint government/private business enterprises. Presently, only about fifteen per cent of all the job-creation projects fall in the area of provincial government programs. Few programs currently exist that are relevant to urban Natives.

In 1974 a paper entitled "Basic Objectives and Terms of Reference for Alberta Taxation and Incentives" outlined possible measures that the government could implement to encourage private enterprise.[8] For example, a reduction in the small-business tax was introduced. Other activities, such as moving to repatriate corporate income tax, have been in process since 1974, although the actual policy was adopted in 1972.[9] Economic projects that require government subsidy also assume a moderate input of capital from the private sector. Because Indians generally lack the capital to make initial investments, these programs exclude most Natives from the job-creation market.

The federal government has also undertaken to create jobs. Two programs exist: the Indian Economic Development Direct Loan Program and the Indian Economic Development Guarantee Program. Both programs are available both to Indian and to non-Indian individuals, groups or corporations operating, or wishing to create, a business enterprise that contributes to the economic development of Indian people. The Direct Loan Program[10] provides a last-resort source of commercial financing which must not be used as an alternative to social or non-repayable funding. Personal cash investments or personal assets are required and partially determine whether or not the loan will be granted. The Guarantee Program is an attempt to facilitate Indian access to loan security.[11] Guarantees are available only where loans are secured by realizable assets and/or other security. Recently the federal government launched a new program, the Alberta Indian Agriculture Development Corporation, to increase the number of self-supporting Indian farmers and the agricultural productivity of the reserves. This program will provide equity capital to the farmer and hire field representatives to teach Indians the basics of farming.

Both the federal and provincial governments would like to see private enterprise provide capital and jobs for Natives. For example, the federal government was instrumental in getting the Bank of Nova Scotia to set up a specific department to make loans to Indians. The provincial government has created the Alberta Opportunity Company (AOC), which makes loans ranging from $1000 to $500 000. However, the borrower is required to put up 20 per cent of the loan. The Indian Equity Foundation, established in 1977 by the federal government and Syncrude, was a five-year program whereby the Foundation loaned up to 20 per cent of the required capital needed to establish Indian businesses. Through this arrangement, no-interest money can be used as equity, which enables businesses to approach AOC for loans. The federal government established the Indian Equity Foundation because the Alberta government had backed out of federal-provincial agreements that provided Natives with job training. The provincial government had dropped out of the program because it considered it discriminatory and contrary to the Alberta Human Rights Act. Its preference was, and is, to use 'moral suasion' in dealing with the private sector's relations with Natives. For example, Alberta will allow an employer to establish his or her own hiring standards according to the moral standards of the area of the employer. The provincial government is also of the opinion that if special privileges, such as excused absences and transportation, are given to Native workers, and these privileges exceed those given to other workers, labour unrest will result.

Pre-Employment Programs

While the federal government has given some priority to fulfilling its mandate of job creation, the Government of Alberta has focused almost exclusively on providing training for Natives so that they can enter an already existing job market. This training begins with the provision of information about career and occupational decisions and is followed up with three program elements: original preparation for employment;[12] retraining; and continuing education.

People need training and other employment-related services at at least two, and perhaps three, stages of life. Although the principle underlying the Alberta Manpower Policy is that jobs are for people, the Alberta government is aware that it is necessary to ensure that people have the necessary skills to fill the jobs that are available. On this basis its Manpower Policy becomes a two-way process of creating jobs for people and preparing people for jobs.

Table 2:2 identifies the *major* activities of the Alberta government that pertain to manpower programs directed primarily to Native people. All service activities or programs of Alberta's Department of Advanced Education and Manpower are technically available to all residents of the province, regardless of their ethnic or racial origin. Native participation in these programs appears to depend on their geographic location and/or their low socio-economic status, rather than on their racial or ethnic origin. A close inspection of Table 2:2 shows that the province is trying to provide programs at three levels: pre-employment, employment-training, and retirement.

Table 2:2 Major Activities of Department of Advanced Education and Manpower Servicing Alberta Natives, 1978–1979

Activity	*Description*	*Native Population Served*	*Cost*
Institutional Programs	Educational & vocational training	3 386	$ 1 190 685[a]
Alberta Vocational Training Programs	Student support[b]	NA[c]	1 000 000[d]
Employment Counselling and Relocation Service	Relocation assistance for persons from isolated northern communities	600[e]	223 595
Apprenticeship Branch	Trains registered apprentices	78	NA
Priority Employment Program	Provides winter employment	170	358 000
Summer Temporary Employment Program	Provides summer employment	20	60 599
Special Needs Group Funding	Native Outreach Program	NA	150 000
Alberta Career Centres	Northern Centres offer services to a substantial Native population.	NA	NA
Student Finance Board	Native persons may receive benefits under Northern Development Council Bursary Program and High School Bursary Program.	NA	NA
Approximate Totals		4 254	$ 4 982 879

Notes

a. Estimated course cost, prorated to include only Native population served.

b. Alberta Vocational Training Program provides both student support and financial support for program costs. Program support is included under programs offered by institutions.

c. NA indicates that figures are not available. Data is not available, but would primarily include Native population in institutional programs.

d. Estimated student support.

e. Estimated figure, based on 3.5 persons per family for 171 families.

Alberta's two major pre-employment programs involve the Career Centres and the Employment Counselling and Relocation Services (ECRS). The provincial career program was created on the assumption that most people make their career decisions without the benefit of adequate information about career choices. Their program provides information to individuals so that they can make intelligent career choices, plan for the future, and prepare for various transitions, such as the transition from school to work or from work to additional training. The Alberta government assumes that if individuals are able to make these decisions before the events themselves occur, their transitions will be smooth and will create few disruptions for themselves, their families and their employers. As a result, they will enjoy more personal satisfaction, which will be profitable to society in that they will be making a valuable contribution to its welfare.

ECRS is administered by Advanced Education and Manpower, but funded jointly by Alberta and Canada under the Alberta North Agreement. It was initiated in 1971 to allow residents of isolated areas to participate more fully in the expanding opportunities of the region. The program's objectives are to assist in the social and geographic relocation of employable or trainable residents of isolated communities in order to enable them to find long-term employment. Nine communities are currently serviced by ECRS, and this reflects a substantial increase over the past five years. The long-term program is directed to small Native families who wish to integrate into the dominant socio-economic structure. The program assists these families with the cost of moving, helps employable people locate work, makes housing available, and provides counselling for the Native families and the other community residents.

The rationale for such a program goes back to the 1950s, when Northern Alberta was characterized by self-sufficient isolated communities whose economy was largely based on hunting, fishing and trapping. Later the economy expanded with the establishing of sawmills and fish-processing plants in the area. This development brought about increased competition for natural resources and changed the aspirations and expectations of young Native people. Recognizing the basic problem created by these changes, and its social consequences, the Alberta government decided to offer assistance to local residents who were willing to move out of isolated areas. It discarded options such as increasing the flow of transfer payments or creating jobs through subsidization of businesses that were not self-supporting, since these would provide, at best, only short-term solutions.

A third program, not public, but heavily funded by government, is the pre-employment Native (Women) Employment Training Program. This program emerged from concern for the increasing number of Native women who were being drawn into urban areas; its objective is to provide unemployed Native women with the motivation to seek employment. The program tries to develop self-confidence and enhance feelings of self-worth, as well as teach the basic skills of applying for work or for further training. It recognizes the social, cultural and economic adjustments that Native women must make when they become residents of an urban centre. The ultimate goal is to reduce the rate of unemployment and to ensure that once employment is obtained, it will be retained.

Training Programs

Academic and vocational training programs offered at the various post-secondary institutions accounted for 80 per cent of the identified Native participation in Advanced Education and Manpower programs.

The Alberta Vocational Training Program (AVTP) is designed to meet the short-term training needs of people seeking entry into the labour force, as well as the needs of business and industry for short-term training programs.[13] The student-support element of the enterprise guides trainees into appropriate institutional programs and provides them with financial support during training. This part of the program, the only one of its kind in Canada, complements the Canada Manpower Training Program. The AVTP offers academic upgrading, skills training and job-readiness training to Alberta residents who have been out of school for at least twelve months, are defined as 'disadvantaged', need financial assistance, and are capable of benefiting from training. Institutional programs are delivered at several levels. First of all, there are those at post-secondary educational institutions: universities, colleges and technical schools. Most of these programs are directed to the training of teachers and/or teacher's aides. It is estimated that fewer than 10 per cent of the Natives attending post-secondary institutions are currently enrolled in these training programs. Figures suggest that 90 per cent of the Native students participating in institutionally offered technical programs are enrolled at the four Alberta Vocational Centres (AVC's) located at Calgary, Edmonton, Lac la Biche and Grouard, and at the Community Vocational Centres (CVC's); all twenty-six of these are located in Northern Alberta and are directed to Natives.

The AVC system emerged from conditions of the 1930s and 1940s, when the federal government wanted to combat unemployment and retrain war veterans. Approximately ten to fifteen per cent of the AVC students are Native, although some programs have as high a Native enrolment as 75 per cent. Some of these programs have long-term objectives--the upgrading programs, for example--although most objectives are short term. Six-week training programs, for instance, are offered in Wetaskiwin to provide workers for the building services.

In contrast to the previously mentioned programs, the participants are *referred* to AVC, half by the Department of Social Services and Community Health (25%) and Manpower (25%), the remainder by the Alberta Vocational Training Plan. Virtually all the participants in this program are indigent. The AVC's provide vocational and retraining programs for adults who have difficulty obtaining and retaining employment. Each Centre has a different focus of training: Calgary, for example, focuses on nurses' training, while Lac la Biche specializes in a teacher's-aide program. The two programs for Northern Alberta have a sizable Native enrolment; their major thrust is towards basic life-skills training and skills upgrading; they offer courses, for example, in baking, food handling, housing maintenance and housing repair.

The CVC program,[14] provides individuals with a basic education including academic upgrading, life skills and basic job-readiness training, and other practical skills related to northern living. Some special courses, proposed by a locally elected management committee, are offered when a demand is identified. One of these, for instance, is a course in home-owner's wiring.

The concept underlying the AVC's and CVC's is to respond to the needs of the person generally referred to as a 'non-traditional learner'. The programs are designed for the student who, for one reason or another, has not been successful in the regular school system and now needs to be trained or retrained in some skill. In addition, the programs try to meet locally identified needs. The Alberta government is the only one in Canada to supply an income-replacement training allowance for students enrolled in these programs. This allowance has been available since 1965. These programs, then, offer core instruction in basic skills of mathematics, English and reading, to prepare the student for future educational choices such as apprenticeship or business training. There has been a general decline of the federal government's purchase of training places in the Grades 1–4 level of these programs; purchase of training places has continued constant at the Grades 5–9 level, which provides the basic entry-level skills for further skills training; fewest places have been purchased at the Grades 10–12 level. The province has tried to fill in the gaps created by the dropping off of federal support, and through provincial measures, a full academic upgrading plan is still available to Alberta residents.

Some of the costs of these programs are reimbursed by the federal government. For example, half of the expenses incurred in the operation of the CVC's and all of the costs of courses offered on reserves and for the training of most Indians are recoverable. The federal program provides financial support for students during training and funds to cover the marginal direct costs of the agencies offering the skills programs.

A second training program is provided by the Apprenticeship Branch of Canada Manpower. Native participation in this program is very limited: fewer than 0.1 per cent of all the apprentices registered in 1979 were Natives. Apprenticeship training consists of on-the-job skill development supplemented by short periods of intensive class-room and shop instruction. Curricula for apprenticeship training are developed in consultation with the related Trade Advisory Committees and the training institutions. Financial arrangements for technical training and the payment of training allowances are made under the Federal Adult Occupational Training Act. The Apprenticeship Branch regulates and administers the training and certification of registrants from tradesman to journeyman level in forty different trades. Related to the apprenticeship program under Appropriation 1728 was the Native Projects program. This industry-based training program, with its emphasis on on-the-job training, was in place from 1974 to 1976, to meet the manpower needs expected to arise from oil-sands development in northeastern Alberta. The program was brought to an end after the government had spent well over $1 million over two years. The manpower shortages were not as severe as projected, and the integration of Native people was neither as easy nor as practical as expected. However, the Alberta Native Development Corporation was created as a continuing project.

The Special Manpower Branch administers the Priority Employment Program (PEP), the Summer Temporary Employment Program (STEP), and the Native Outreach Program. The first two programs were established as short-term job-creation programs for youth. More recently, however, they are being used to provide first-time employment for welfare recipients trying to enter the labour force. This branch also provides the services required to fund and supervise the employment-promotion, placement and development activities of the department's Special Needs Group. It provides, too, the services required to co-ordinate provincial government participation in federal government job-creation programs such as Canada Works and Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP). LEAP is administered by the Employment Development Branch of the

Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC). It provides support for activities designed to improve job skills or train workers who are unable to compete for regular employment. Funds may be used to provide the chronically unemployed with the skills and capabilities necessary to find, fill and keep jobs in the regular labour force and to create long-term jobs. Some of the funds have been set aside for the development and maintenance of projects for Native people.

At present DIAND provides funds only for students in a skill-training program offered in a technical or vocational institution or at a university. The Department does not fund Indians in the process of academic upgrading. On the other hand, Canada Manpower programs will not support trainees engaged in upgrading basic skills unless they can finish their training within one year, nor will it finance them at a higher level unless they have been out of school for two years and are at least nineteen years old. Moreover, Canada Manpower is reducing the amount of money being spent to provide academic upgrading.

The Canada Manpower Training (federal/provincial) program was instituted in 1967, on the basis of the Adult Occupational Training Act of Canada. Under this Act, the province provides educational services, and the federal government contracts to purchase a certain number of places in post-secondary institutions. In addition, the federal government reimburses the province for part of its operational costs. While this program deals with all Canadians, it has its own special program--Native Outreach--directed to Natives.

Canada Manpower found that assistance to Natives involved a variety of problems relating to language, alcoholism and job skills that had to be dealt with before a trainee could be placed in a job. Hence the creation of Native Outreach, which would act as a liaison agent between Canada Manpower and Native people, as well as a job-placement service for Natives. Native Outreach is, in effect, an employment agency designed to assist Native people to enter the work-force and to learn the marketable employment skills they need to handle an employment situation successfully. It tries to assist Native people to gain recognition in their attempts to become self-supporting citizens and active productive contributors to the Canadian economy. Individuals register with Native Outreach, just as with CEIC, except that the former organization provides counselling in an Indian language. Native Outreach has established contacts with local businesses and refers clients to fill job openings in those businesses. If the number of requests for referrals is large, Natives will be drawn from all over Alberta and will travel to interviews with CEIC travel warrants.[15]

In connection with these functions, Native Outreach also carries on a public relations program relating to promotion and support. Under this program, businesses, government and unions are contacted and provided with information about Native Outreach in an attempt to develop links with potential employers. Once this aim has been accomplished, the actual placement of individuals with an employer becomes easier.[16] There are no formal agreements between employers and Native Outreach, but their linkage increases the probability that Natives will be hired. In addition, Native Outreach has a union-dues trust fund that helps qualified Natives to enter a union.[17]

The Indian and Inuit Affairs Program (IIAP) has no job-creation component. Its only activity is in connection with on-the-job programs in urban areas. This involves placing people for training and/or job upgrading in major industries or private businesses. This activity is cost-shared with Canada Manpower through the latter's Industrial Training Program and is reviewed by the provincial Department of Advanced Education and Manpower.

Conclusions

Alberta's Provincial Manpower Services, through the operation of its three main components--Apprenticeship and Trade Certification, Employment Development, and Career Development--co-ordinates the delivery of employment and career-development services, arranges for the training of apprentices, and regulates the certification of tradespeople.

To ensure that employment policies and programs reflect Alberta's industrial needs, Employment Development identifies short- and long-term personnel requirements in the industrial and commercial sectors, and initiates remedial action, where required, to ensure the availability of qualified personnel. The job-identification service identifies and assesses the personnel needs of Alberta and prepares employer profiles for skills development. The manpower-mobility service ensures that if Albertans are not available for jobs, other centres, such as London, England, and Toronto, will be contacted for employee referrals. The structure relates to employee training. It is responsible for ensuring that employee-training methods are consistent with the Alberta Manpower Policy for integrating provincial employee-training objectives and priorities with those of federal programming.

The existing provincial training programs are focusing on retraining with the ultimate goal of providing primary training. The retraining program is viewed as a remedial or rehabilitative measure which attempts to patch up the deficiencies in the existing training system. However, retraining is not viewed as a long-term solution. The process is considered a result of the changing provincial economy, where old skills are not useful for the more technical system emerging. The programs' long-term goal of focusing on primary training, to be followed by continuing education, means that trainees will first acquire a skill and then move into the labour-market as skilled employees kept aware of modern changes through the process of continuing education. This process would be least distressing to the employee, his or her family and to business. It may, however, precipitate changes in the attitudes of employers, employees and administrators of the present educational systems.

Most of the programs for Natives are funded only if they can guarantee jobs for registrants who complete the courses offered. Unfortunately, most of the Natives coming into the community need 'general', unskilled employment or life-skills experiences. This type of training provides marginal experience, and it is not clear whether it comes under the mandate of Advanced Education and Manpower or Canada Manpower or either body. The result is that neither of these bodies provides such services.

There are few Native pre-employment and training programs, and those that exist face financial cut-backs. Generally, their only funding sources have been the LEAP programs, and according to LEAP regulations, after three years a program is supposed to be self-sufficient and is not eligible for further support. The current recovery/delivery system sees the Indian receiving direction and financial aid from DIAND, placement services from CEIC, and training from a provincial institution. DIAND has focused its priorities and funding on elementary and secondary education because of treaty obligations and the Indian Act. At the same time, CEIC has moved towards vocational training and educational upgrading of Native people, although, to a certain extent, CEIC's priorities are set by the province.

The overall policy of DIAND is that it is better for Indians to develop independently of government resources. In an initial step to help Indians achieve control of their own affairs, DIAND has given certain bands control of specific funds. For example, in Northern Alberta, eleven bands were given control of $8 million in federal programs. These bands will control all the programs formerly administered by IIAP, such as housing, social services and economic development. So far the bands have also chosen to concentrate on rural issues and not to deal with the urban Indian.

Alberta Indian revenues from Indian lands in 1978-79 exceeded $100 million, and over 95 per cent of this amount was derived from oil and gas revenues. However, this money is not equally distributed among Indians in Alberta. Five reserves account for more than 80 per cent of the total oil and gas revenues. With some exceptions, the expenditure of these monies is not directly related to urbanization: for example, the Hobbema Samson Band has established the Peace Hills Trust Company in Hobbema; it plans later to create branches in Calgary and Edmonton. The initial capital of $7 million is supported by the band's $50 million annual oil royalties and the expertise and personnel training of the Royal Trust Company.

The Alberta government estimates that of the province's 7000 Indians between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, over 85 per cent are unemployed and lack basic academic and job skills to enter trades, technical training programs, unions and most jobs. However, the provincial government rarely participates actively in Native economic development. Its Department of Industry and Commerce has repeatedly stated that it wants to increase the rate of economic growth in non-urban and economically depressed areas of Alberta, yet the province has undertaken no programs or expenditures to implement this policy. For example, the Department of Highways and Transportation has a policy of not building all-weather roads to rural areas because of the high cost, particularly in northern parts of the province. This has the indirect effect of lending support to other programs that promote urbanization. For example, the provincial government will make land available, as well as loans and grants for housing, to individuals moving into small communities. It would seem that the provincial government's role in Native economic development has emerged from the links of Natives with federal agencies or departments, such as the Departments of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) and Transportation.

Notes

1. A. Siggner and C. Locatelli, "Regional Population Projections by Age, Sex and Residence for Canada's Registered Indian Population, 1976-1981" (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Research Branch, 1980).
2. Siggner and Locatelli, "Regional Population Projections", p. 39.
3. "Appropriation Act No. 2, 1970; Indian Economic Development Regulations", *Canada Gazette*, Part II, Vol. 106, 26 July 1970.
4. See Chapter 3, below.
5. In order to implement its current policy, the Alberta government plans to promote Indian employment in its public service.
6. See L. Pratt and L. Richards, *Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979).
7. Pratt and Richards, *Prairie Capitalism.*
8. Methods of subsidy are tax credits, marketing assistance, credit programs and incentive grants. Some of the monies from the Heritage Fund are now to be utilized.
9. The federal government has negotiated an on-the-job program with private industry in establishing the Alberta Petroleum Industry Training Centre. This program subsidizes part of the trainee's wages while he or she trains on the job.
10. In the 1970s the federal government created the Economic Development Fund with a budget of $70 million. Alberta's share was approximately $14 million, of which $13 million has been spent. Over 90% of the projects were based in rural areas, and most of the remainder were located in small communities.

11. Normally, under section 89 of the Indian Act, lending security is not available. The Guarantee Program also allows lenders to share loss risk witn DIAND.
12. Alberta recognizes that a potential employee needs skills in two areas: physical and mental skills which he can sell, and social skills which enable him to sell his mental/physical skills and maintain a good relationship with fellow workers.
13. The Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act (1961) created nine different programs. The fifth program, "Program for the Training of the Unemployed", was initially directed to Natives, specifically the unemployed and the young. This program, however, has to be supplemented by elementary-school courses to bring the trainee up to the minimum level at which technical and vocational training can effectively begin.
14. The CVC program provides a broad range of education-related services for the residents of north-central Alberta. These services feature academic upgrading, life-skills and basic job-readiness programs. Some services are available in either English or Cree. AVC's provide academic upgrading from Grades 10 to 12 and pre-employment training. The aim of these Centres is to develop occupational skills. For this reason, courses concentrate on practical, rather than academic, training. The AVC's provide educational opportunities for residents of isolated Native communities. They provide basic education, academic upgrading, and practical short courses which can, if necessary, be made portable.
15. Native Outreach has offices in some communities where Canada Manpower has not. Currently seven offices operate, and in 1979 approximately 1750 placements were made.
16. The placement program is federally funded (to the amount of

$380 000 in 1979), while the support and promotions program is under a provincial contract. (It was funded to the amount of $225 000 in 1978/1979.)

17. For example, the initiation fee for one union is $171 plus $40 per month. NO will pay the initiation fee plus the first three months' dues on a no-interest-loan basis.

3: Education

Background

By virtue of the Canada Act, 1867, education was assigned to the provinces. However, by historic implication, if not by actual treaty commitment, the federal government has provided Indian education, both primary and secondary, through subparagraph 91 (24) of the Canada Act, 1867. The role of the provincial government in education is basically that of providing institutions, whether they be colleges, universities, or Alberta Vocational Centres/Community Vocational Centres (AVC's/CVC's).

Even though the Indian Act stated that Indian children should attend school, by 1950 only one Indian day school existed in Alberta. Of Alberta's Indian students in the 1950s, 93 per cent were registered in federal residential schools. Until the 1960s, Indians received their primary and secondary education in these schools. Although the schools were funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), they were operated and staffed by religious organizations. Their staffs were made up of clergy and uncertified teachers, for teaching certificates were not required of teachers in a federal Indian school. By 1970, however, only one-third of the province's Indian students would still remain in residential schools.

While Alberta schools were not always racially segregated, by the mid-twentieth century, segregated schools had become the norm. However, the educational administrators, at both provincial and federal levels, were influenced by a 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court and all the evidence that lay behind it: that racially segregated schools were inherently inferior to integrated schools.[1]

Educators believed--and convinced politicians--that integrated schools would provide a better education for all students, would reduce tension between Indians and non-Indians, would lead students to further education and to employment opportunities and, in the end, would bring about the assimilation of Canadian Indians. This policy also involved the abandonment of federal residential schools for Native children. The change meant, too, a decentralization of instruction (but not of administration) and an increase in the number of provincial schools.[2] The economic state of Alberta in the 1960s allowed for the necessary changes. All of them, however, related to elementary education. Natives were not participating in secondary and post-secondary education, and so federal secondary schools, after a few abortive experiments, were closed.

The establishment of joint federal-provincial integrated schools meant that the federal government and local school boards would agree to terms for providing education for Native students. Basically, the Alberta government would provide the schools and deliver the education, but it would be reimbursed, on a pupil-per-day basis, by the federal government. In 1956 Alberta had passed legislation which was made retroactive to 1952; that legislation stated:

> The board of a non-divisional district or division may, with the approval of the Minister of Education, enter into an agreement with the Government of Canada to educate Indian children in a school or schools of the district or division.

The Alberta government had taken the position that if a registered Indian family lived in an organized school district, its children might be counted by a school authority for 'grant'[3] purposes. The province accepted the costs because the Indian family was living on property that contributed to the support of its education program. Although all school districts, divisions, and counties were officially informed of this decision, an addendum was later circulated stating that it applied only when a family had established residency in a district over a period of one year. This meant that no overall agreement on Native education stood between the federal and provincial governments, but rather that school boards were to deal individually with the federal government. By 1958 the federal government began to fund kindergarten Indian students who were under the age of six. It also implemented post-school adult-education programs for students over eighteen. These programs included vocational and professional training, assistance in finding employment, and relocation. Negotiations for provincial-federal cost-sharing agreements, were completed and the programs, using provincial facilities, were in place by the late 1950s.

From 1950 to 1960, Native school attendance nearly tripled, and the federal school system began to show severe strain. This tremendous increase in numbers of students came about because compulsory education was enforced, and non-attendance at school could mean the loss of family-allowance payments.[4]

The administrative structure of DIAND provided one Superintendent of Education per region, which consisted of a province. Thus, while one might have assumed a high degree of centralization at the regional level, the reality was that DIAND superintendents were attending to so many local crises that they had little time to deal with the internal operations of the individual schools. As a result, DIAND asked the provincial educational authorities to take over the supervision of its schools.

By the 1960s, therefore, DIAND had already begun to use the personnel and structure of Alberta's education system. The provincial government created school districts (divisions) when local residents asked the Minister of Education to do so. A local petition was presented and, if there were enough children in the area, a vote of residents was taken to decide whether or not a public school should be built. Teachers were required to hold professional certificates and to be fully concerned with providing children with basic academic skills. At the same time, it became the practice for day schools to be constructed and maintained.

As Alberta entered the 1960s, two major factors began to affect the school system as it served Natives. First of all, it had been accepted nation wide that all Canadians had the right to participate fully in Canadian society, and that government should facilitate this involvement. Secondly DIAND agreed with provincial counterparts that too much time was being spent on the religious component of Native schools' curricula and not enough on the academic component. Rather than confront the issue directly, the Alberta Department of Education required teachers to be professionally prepared for their duties. This meant that a teacher had to hold a teaching certificate. The policy did not directly confront the religious issue, but forced *all* teachers to have formal academic training and thus, in a sense, resolved the issue.

Coupled with this requirement for the university preparation and certification of teachers, came a reduction in the number of new recruits to the religious orders, the traditional source of teachers in Indian schools. The result was a rapid secularization of schools which had retained some religious elements. In addition, through careful selection of new appointees and the payment of high salaries, the new system was able to upgrade the calibre of teaching staffs. In-service training was also provided for teachers through a variety of means.

The federal government's in-school programs were modified in the mid-1960s.[5] The changes are documented by Educational Division Letters (EDL's), which are memoranda of a directive policy and deal with a number of education issues.[6] These EDL's have created a great deal of confusion for both Indians and provincial governments. Their contents have, in some cases, replaced existing provisions of the Indian Act, although this, of course, is neither technically nor legally possible. Nevertheless, operations began to change as a result of these directives, and Indians and provincial authorities were caught in a basic dilemma: Were they to follow the legal interpretation of the Indian Act or to accept what was actually happening? Initial Native reaction to these changes varied widely and was sporadic and uncoordinated. The impact on the family was most immediate and significant, but its effect was particular, and thus not translatable to collective action. In fact, most Natives considered the changes minimal and ineffectual.

For example, in 1951 Indians were given some control over the education of their children: families living on reserves could take charge of such matters as maintenance and repairs of school property and designation of the religious denomination of the school's teachers. However, it was not until 1967 that the political arm of the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) passed a resolution that every school board should include an Indian representative to act as an official Native spokesman. This resolution was confirmed by the National Indian School Committee Conference in Edmonton and presented to the Alberta Minister of Education in 1968. In 1969 and 1970, in response to this resolution, the Department of Education suggested changes to the School Act, but the suggestion was twice rejected by Indians of Alberta.[7]

Policy

Both the federal and the provincial governments consider that the provision of education for Natives will help to integrate these people into Canadian society and will assist them to bridge the socio-economic gap that presently exists between Indians and non-Indians. The Province of Alberta is prepared, under certain conditions, to assume more responsibility for Indian education. It would like to see additional educational services for Natives provided in its urban areas, for it considers that such a policy would be most helpful to its Native citizens. It recognizes, however, that the placement of Indians in an urban setting is expensive and fraught with problems. As a result, conflict has developed among various provincial departments about the most effective program strategy to adopt.

Not until the late 1960s did Natives formulate their own position on Native education. It was in that period, too, that Natives, for the first time, formally acknowledged that while the federal government had initiated changes in their education system, it was now the provincial government that was carrying on and enforcing the new concept of Native education.

When the federal government introduced its 1969 White Paper, Indians believed that education would be moving from federal to provincial jurisdiction. It was at this time that Indians began to claim publicly that integration was being forced on their people through educational institutions. The cause was taken up by the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) which, in 1972, prepared a document called "Indian Control of Indian Education". This document laid out a blueprint for the controlling involvement of Indians in the education of Indian people. By

1973 this concept was accepted as part of the IIAP view and represented a defeat of the federal White Paper. The Minister of Indian Affairs informed provincial Ministers of Education that more consideration should be given to Indian education, and pressure was placed on provincial governments to provide for 'Indian education'. At the same time, the contents of the Watson Report on IIAP were released, reinforcing the view that responsibility for Indian education should continue to be transferred from federal to provincial jurisdiction only if Indians accepted this change. The Watson Report also recommended that schools develop an Indian curriculum, and that universities provide more content and courses relating to Indian education.

After the federal government introduced its White Paper in 1969, the IAA countered with its concept of establishing Cultural Education Centres. These centres would offer an alternative to the existing education system, and their programs would be designed and structured to make education meaningful to Indians and to stimulate a sense of positive self-awareness and self-reliance in Indian students.

In 1971 Alberta's provincial task force on intercultural education was asked to collect and summarize data which the provincial government intended to use as a basis for establishing policy and practices that would serve the educational wishes and needs of the province's cultural minorities. The first and only public document produced was that on Indians. The committee made many recommendations to the provincial government on this issue, but these recommendations were based on two very important assumptions: that the education of Indians was a federal responsibility, and that adult education of Natives was a legitimate concern for the province.

The Worth Report on education was endorsed by the Alberta Legislature in 1974. It focused on achieving parity between urban and non-urban educational opportunities. One of its author's underlying assumptions was that, since Natives were predominantly rural, this focus would benefit them. A plan was needed, however, to implement these policies. In 1972, the Alberta Colleges Commission had published Master Plan No. 1. The Commission was subsequently disbanded, however, and has not been called into existence since. By 1975, when the amalgamation of Advanced Education and Manpower took place, the Alberta government appeared to be heavily oriented towards a personnel-planning approach to education.

Since the early 1960s, Indians of Alberta had argued that when their provincial government provides or delivers services to Native people, it allows the federal government to abrogate its responsibility. This position was reiterated in the 1979 policy paper presented to the Alberta Cabinet by all of the province's band chiefs. The paper focused specifically on the areas of education and social services programs.[8] There seems, however, to be a lack of congruence relating to the intent, purpose, goals, function, activities and conditions of educational programs. Indian education lacks an articulated theme or sense of purpose. One education official has stated:

> The IIAP education activities can be summed up as a 'random' system. There is no clear leadership, unreliable data has been collected, and the result is a weak policy statement reflecting a muliplicity of approaches.

Obviously, the seeming lack of specific goals or of a single purpose in education is not limited to the federal government. It applies to provincial government officials, to educators and, in some instances, to chiefs and band councils. None of these parties is able to convince the others of the correctness of its own position. At the same time, the goals of each of the parties seem to keep changing. The result is that few of the parties are willing to give way to others in the matter of the goals of education. Consequently, the problem of educating Natives remains in constant flux.

With regard to current educational policies toward Native people, Alberta's Minister of Education has stated:

> . . .we do not have programs or policies which focus explicitly on Native people. The primary reason for that, I think, is exemplified in the Individual Rights Protection Act. We perceive that as a result of that legislation, it would probably be illegal for us to design programs specifically for people who can be characterized on the basis of race . . . . [we] design a program that is not explicitly based on race but on helping Native people much more than any others.[9]

The Alberta Department of Education has recently met with the Departments of Culture and Native Affairs to work out an arrangement for the provision of specific services to the province's Native people. This was one of the first times an attempt was made to have the Department of Education co-ordinate the provision and delivery of services with an affected urban community. The decision was taken to fund an experimental program that would be developed by community groups. These community segments would receive financial support from the provincial government and would operate under the school boards involved. However, when the IAA heard about this proposed arrangement, it protested and demanded that it be involved in the decision-making process.

Programs

Expenditures for education can be divided into three categories:

elementary/secondary; vocational; and post-secondary. Revenues for the first category are derived from the provincial and municipal levels of government, which pay, respectively, 60 per cent and 40 per cent of the costs. The latter two categories are financed primarily by the provincial government, supported by varying amounts of federal aid, even though section 93 of the Canada Act placed education under the control of the provinces. For Indians, however, the federal government has assumed primary responsibility.

In the early 1960s, the federal government provided large incentive grants for the building *and* operation of vocational/technical schools. Currently the AVC's/CVC's are established in specific communities, but include satellite outreach components that assist in meeting the educational needs of individuals, families and communities. Today's programs are highly mobile and portable. The federal government purchases space and time in provincial educational institutions to allow Native students to attend.

By 1971 the Secretary of State began to initiate funding for the Cultural Education Centres conceived by the IAA in the late 1960s. The administrators of Alberta's Indian and Inuit Affairs Program (IIAP) objected, not to the creation of the Centres, but to the fact that an outside agency was taking responsibility. Eventually IIAP was able to gain control of the funds, and it, in turn, persuaded the existing Centres to adopt a narrow view of education and to emphasize Indian culture. Concurrently it created many small Centres and gave funds to local band councils. This policy spread the limited funds and allowed local band councils to spend the money allotted them as they wished. The result was that the original 'centre' concept never became an actuality.

Certain education programs relevant to Native people were implemented and funded by the Government of Alberta through the

Educational Opportunities Fund (EOF). The EOF was established by the Alberta Department of Education in 1973 for a three-year trial period. The program was established because of an election promise by the newly elected provincial government in 1971 that it would make more money available for education. For two years additional monies were added to the general fund, but the addition to that fund was not obvious to the general public. The government then decided to create a more visible plan with a $12-million budget. The plan was modelled on an American program.

The initial EOF projects were undertaken, administered and evaluated in specific schools. However, it became clear, shortly after the program was started, that while its funding deserved to be continued, it was resulting in a proliferation of separate projects all through the educational system. It was therefore decided to create for each district an umbrella administrative structure to be called the 'District Compensatory Fund'. The structure consists of three components: the elementary component, the junior high school component, and the compensatory component.

The current objective and emphasis of the EOF's elementary component is to deliver services that are of direct benefit to elementary pupils and their teachers, and so to upgrade the quality and quantity of educational achievement among pupils in the elementary class-rooms and at more advanced levels. The junior high school component has a comparable objective and emphasis.

EOF projects are defined as 'short-term'. Generally, a program is given a three-year guarantee of funding. Beyond this period, with some exceptions, it is expected that the program will be integrated into the existing system and funded from other sources, or phased out of existence.

The general province-wide policy of the EOF program is:

- To increase the proportion of students mastering basic and auxiliary skills
- To increase the number of students who exhibit growing self-confidence and self-respect
- To increase the visibility of educational upgrading activities.

Funds are provided to participating provincial school boards[10] on a project basis. Generally, a project is planned by local school authorities and submitted to the Alberta Department of Education. If it is approved, it is implemented by the local school board, and its costs are reimbursed by the Department of Education.

The compensatory program is intended to fund compensatory education for reasonably large groups of students whose educational attainments are unsatisfactory, as defined by the local officials, provided that there is reason to believe that their comparatively low level of educational attainment is the result of specific social, cultural and economic conditions. The program provides extra class-room instruction for culturally, socially, or environmentally disadvantaged students.

Two views on compensatory education have emerged. One is that if a child's environmental background is so deficient that the deficiency leads to decreased educational attainment, the school might try to make up for the situation through providing extraordinary activities directly relevant to the deficiencies. This approach emphasizes the provision of the 'missing ingredient' in the lives of children in the hope that this supplement will eventually lead to their achieving more normal educational standards. A second approach involves providing modified and intensified direct educational experiences in the hope that these will compensate for the negative educational effects of the disadvantaged background of the children affected. The Alberta Department of Education has chosen the second approach as a guideline for determining which projects will be funded, although in special cases it may use the first approach.

Various EOF programs have been developed throughout Alberta. Where a school serves Euro-Canadian, Métis and Indian students, the Indian pupils are *not* eligible for direct provincial support. The Alberta Department of Education will, however, approve compensatory projects for such combinations of pupils and will provide financial support for the program on a *pro rata* basis in the interest of non-Indian pupils eligible for provincial support. If the compensatory educational activities take place within a regular school program, DIAND is charged for those Indian students taking part in the program.

In addition to the programs funded by EOF, Alberta has provided other educational programs in which Natives are the single most important target group. These include pre-school, in-school and post-school programs. At each level, the schools may be categorized as 'integrationist' or 'isolationist' by provincial authorities. These terms simply refer to whether or not a given program is directed towards teaching children about the larger society and preparing them for entry into it, or towards teaching children about Native culture and helping them to develop self-awareness as Native Canadians.

Until lately, Alberta's elementary and secondary educational programs focused on an integrative approach, the aim of which was to introduce Natives, first, into the school system, and then into the larger society. However, more recently, a resurgence of the 'isolationist' educational policy is being advocated. This model takes Native students from all over a city, out of the dominant community and culture, and provides them with an education in a cultural milieu that is totally Indian. The question of whether culturally isolated education should begin at Grade 1 or at secondary-school level is now being discussed. The urban areas have, with some exceptions, taken the integrationist perspective.

However, in Alberta's Northlands School Division, under the Education North Program, a totally bicultural program for Grades 1 and 2 has been developed. Grade-3 curriculum was being created at the time of writing, and the preparation of a bicultural curriculum will continue to move up through each grade level as the years advance, and as money and interest continue to be available.

The Alberta government does not want to become involved in judging which of the two approaches to education just described is more or less successful. The government's long-range plan is to set out some very broad criteria for experimental or developmental programs in education. The local Native communities, in conjunction with local school boards, will then design their own curricula as they think appropriate. The expansion of educational opportunities parallels the development of other social services, and current trends in education, like those in social services, reflect a commitment to equality--or at least equality of opportunity--for all.

Pre-School Programs

There is one specific urban program relating to Native pre-school children. The Awasis kindergarten program in Edmonton was initially developed by the group called 'Indian Rights for Indian Women', to provide Native children entering Grade 1 with a 'head start' and at the same time to keep them in touch with their Native heritage. It is assumed that Native children starting school have low self-esteem and no proper adult role models in the field of education, and lack a basic understanding of their Native heritage. The school attempts to make up all of these deficiencies and to place the Native child on a par with non-Indians in academic achievement, self-esteem and knowledge of his or her heritage. Even though the federal government is responsible for kindergarten education of Indian children, no other programs for this age group exist in Alberta's urban areas.

In 1972 the Alberta government established its Early Childhood Services to provide a comprehensive health, social and educational service to strengthen the sense of dignity of the child and his or her family. At the time of writing, over 700 children in ten rural and urban centres were participating at a cost of over $5 million. IIAP was contributing $120 000 of this amount. This program is based on the belief that unless satisfactory social and economic conditions exist, such as adequate housing, nutrition and family stability, educational programs are doomed to failure.

In-School Programs

In-school programs are defined as those targeted at Grades 1 to 12. At the elementary level, Alberta provides one program directed specifically to Native students. In Edmonton a Cree/English program has been established for elementary-school students. Calgary has three schools that include Indian components in social studies units, but these components are informal and have no offical status with the school or the school board. At the secondary level, there is one program: Calgary operates the Plains Indian Cultural Survival School (PICSS). This alternative school is isolationist in all respects that the Alberta School Act allows.

Post-School Programs

Alberta has organized three different types of post-school educational structures. Because they differ in their goals and objectives, as well as in their design, we shall describe each in turn.

Cultural programs

Cultural/educational programs are based on the concept of Native identity within Canadian society. These programs implement the view that if people have a firm base in their own culture, and if they are given an opportunity for thorough understanding of that culture, they will be able to participate effectively in the larger society of which they form a part. A cultural program, then, should be educational, in terms of the larger society, but it should be provided in a milieu of Native language and culture. The goal of cultural programs is to stimulate a greater sense of self-awareness, self-worth and self-reliance among Native people.

Academic programs

Post-secondary educational institutions include those institutions that are publicly supported and responsible to public school boards and/or to Alberta's Department of Advanced Education and Manpower. In Alberta these institutions include the province's three universities, six public colleges, two technical institutes, and four provincially administered colleges.

The University of Lethbridge provides a Native Studies Program that is not just for Natives. Alberta's other universities and colleges offer the same academic programs to all their students, but provide some support stuctures to facilitate Natives entering and proceeding through the academic system. These support structures vary in number, strength and design. The University of Calgary, for example, provides tutoring, counselling, some office space, and a wide variety of other services for its Native students. On the other hand, the University of Alberta has three Native tutors and one non-Native tutor. The Native Affairs adviser's role is to help Native students to succeed in post-secondary institutions, and to go out into Native communities and talk about education to the residents, their band councils and their chiefs. When Native students arrive on campus, the adviser "counsels, guides and provides them with information about programming, housing and counselling." Currently fewer than one per cent of Alberta's academic post-secondary students are Native, although the absolute number of these students has increased sizeably over the past twenty years.

Teacher-training programs

The first Native-teacher training school in Alberta, Blue Quills, began operation in 1971. The school had been operated by the Oblate Fathers until 1969, when it was to be closed. However, Indians wanted to control and operate the school for the purpose of training Native teachers to educate Native students. Since interested Indians were unable to raise funds to take over the school, they decided to incorporate it as a charitable non-profit organization. In this way, under section 114(1)(*e*) of the Indian Act, the school became eligible for federal funding. Its program was based on the belief that Natives needed courses to upgrade their academic achievement or to retrain themselves in employment skills. In the beginning, the courses were haphazard and disjointed in presentation, and adequate learning materials were not provided. However, over time, a more systematic program has been put together. While one major objective is to train teachers, Blue Quills' overall goals are multi-faceted: they range from providing in-service training and a career path to further academic studies, to encouraging self-confidence and a positive sense of self-identity.

At the time of writing, there were approximately nine hundred off-reserve students attending Blue Quills, who were being financially assisted by DIAND. This expenditure amounts to about 20 per cent of the total IIAP regional education budget for kindergarten to Grade 12. IIAP takes the position that Indians are not entitled *by right* to such funding, while Indians hold the opposite view. At a meeting held in 1980 between regional representatives of DIAND and IAA, the IAA reiterated its past demands and was not prepared to compromise. However, the differences on which IIAP insists are partly academic because, in practice, IIAP supports Indians studying at the post-secondary level in a number of different universities and professional and vocational programs. The basic criterion of eligibility for financial support while attending university is admission. Once an Indian is admitted to a university, he or she becomes eligible for support; no distinction is made on the basis of residence on and off reserves. IIAP also provides funding for adult educational-upgrading programs, adult social education, and training in band administration. For vocational or skills-upgrading programs, IIAP's policy is to refer the applicant to Canada Employment for assistance. If Canada Employment refuses to provide funds, then IIAP *may* do so if monies are available. IIAP also refers to Alberta for funding assistance in vocational training programs. As a result, the provincial government and IIAP often fund vocational programs jointly. There seems to be a working agreement about funding between Alberta and DIAND, whereby the province funds vocational programs for Indians living off reserve.

Conclusions

Trends in Development

Tables 3:1 and 3:2 show that over the past twenty years, the number of Native children attending school in Alberta has increased substantially. The retention rate of students in Grades 2 to 12 increased significantly between 1965 and 1975: the retention rate of 15 per cent for Indians in 1965 increased to over 22 per cent in 1977. However, this increase appears somewhat less impressive when compared with the overall, non-Native, Canadian retention rate of 51 per cent and 75 per cent for the same two years. The actual enrolment rate of Natives for all of Alberta's primary school-aged population (children from five to thirteen years old) remained at about 92 per cent from 1965 to 1980. The Native enrolment rate in secondary school grades (for students aged fourteen to eighteen years) drops sharply to less than half of total provincial enrolment: in 1977 statistics showed that 40 per cent of eligible Native students were attending school. Tables 3:1 and 3:2 also indicate the number of Indian students that have transferred from federal to provincial schools.

Table 3:1 Indian Student Enrolment, 1937–1976 [a]

Year	*Indian Federal Schools (Incl. Band Operated)*	*Indian Residential Schools*	*Provincial Schools*	*Total Indian Students*
1937	35	1 951	—	1 986
1949	154	2 113	—	2 267
1957	1 783	2 560	544	4 887
1958	2 074	2 079	596	4 749
1959	2 253	1 992	664	4 889
1960	2 609	1 742	756	5 107
1961	2 829	1 641	1 031	5 501
1962	3 093	1 367	1 316	5 776
1963	3 181	1 254	2 252	6 686
1964	2 945	1 035	3 958	2 938
1965	3 137	911	3 445	7 493
1966	3 771	Included	4 145	7 916
1967	3 620	in	4 421	8 041
1968	3 527	day	5 044	8 571
1969	3 651	school	5 345	8 996
1970	3 637	enrolment	5 951	9 588
1971	3 502	"	6 101	9 603
1972	3 543	"	6 330	9 803
1973	3 501	"	6 444	9 945
1974	3 252	"	6 139	9 391
1975	3 804	"	6 245	10 049
1976	3 910	"	6 637	10 547

Note

a. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Regional Office, *Indian Education Alberta, 1976* (Edmonton: The Department).

Table 3:2 Percentage Distribution of Registered Indian Enrolment in Alberta, by School Type within Grade Levels, 1966, 1971 and 1977[a]

		Percentage Distribution by School Type with Grade Levels					
Year	*School Type*	*K4-K5 %*	*Grades 1–4 %*	*Grades 5–8 %*	*Grades 9–12 %*	*Special %*	*Total %*
1966	Federal[b]	83.1	53.3	41.9	11.8	53.5	46.7
	Non-Federal[c]	16.9	46.7	58.1	88.2	46.5	53.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1971	Federal	73.4	39.0	33.1	12.8	22.3	36.5
	Non-Federal	26.6	61.0	66.9	87.2	77.7	63.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1977	Federal	65.9	36.7	32.6	29.6	19.3	36.2
	Non-Federal	34.1	63.3	67.4	70.4	80.7	63.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes

a. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, "Student Population by Grade and Age, Alberta, 1966, 1971, 1977" (Ottawa: Program Reference Centre, 1980).

b. Includes federal government- and band-operated schools.

c. Includes provincial and private schools.

As Table 3:3 shows, the number of Indians attending Alberta's post-secondary educational institutions more than tripled during the period from 1968 to 1976. However, when the figure is viewed as a percentage of the population of nineteen- to twenty-three-year-olds, the participation rate appears as slightly over 10 per cent, and since 1971 this rate has been declining, except for university attendance.

Since the 1960s, three major trends have developed in Native education:

- Indian control of Indian schools
- Development of Native curriculum materials
- Establishment of Native teacher-training programs and other post-secondary educational programs.

In the late 1960s, DIAND negotiated with the Government of Alberta to provide educational services for Indian people. Native people, however, responded in an extremely negative way to this proposal. Although it took some time, by 1972 the NIB had formalized and articulated an 'Indian' position with regard to education. Briefly, NIB declared that the financing of Indian education was a federal responsiblity, but that administration of Native schools should be turned over to local Native-education committees. Since the 1970s there has been an emphasis on developing schools in Indian communities operated by Indian bands. Presently about 8 per cent of Natives registered in elementary and secondary schools attend schools directly operated by Indian bands and financed by DIAND.

This new direction seems to be based upon the assumption that formal education is necessary and useful for all Canadians. It is also assumed that local control of Native schools by Indians can and should lead to a high level of Native commitment to, and involvement in, the education process. This development, in turn, should produce a more positive view of education and, eventually, the educational upgrading of Indians. It should also increase Indians' acquisition of skills that will

Table 3:3 Registered Indian-Student Enrolment in Post-Secondary and Adult Education Programs, Alberta, 1968, 1971, 1976 [a]

Type of Post-Secondary and Adult Education Courses	1968		1971		1976	
	Enrolment Number	Enrolment[b] %	Enrolment Number	Enrolment[b] %	Enrolment Number	Enrolment[b] %
Pre-Vocational[c]	57	1.3	303	6.0	124	1.9
Formal Vocational[d]	120	2.7	231	4.6	169	2.6
Special Vocational[e]	36	0.8	133	2.6	143	2.2
University[f]	32	0.6	111	2.1	349	5.3
Total[g]	245	5.5	778	15.5	785	12.2

Notes

a. "Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, "Registered Indian Population by Age, Sex and Residence, by Province, 1968, 1971 and 1976" (Ottawa: Program Reference Centre, 1980); "Employment and Related Services Program Summary, 1972, 1976" (Ottawa: Education Branch).

b. Enrolment expressed as a percentage of the segment of the population aged 19–29.

c. Academic upgrading to meet vocational prerequisities.

d. Specific trades training.

e. *Ad hoc* vocational training of limited nature for specific purposes, and training towards a diploma or certificate.

f. Includes professional training, such as nursing or teaching.

g. Percentages may not add up to total because of rounding.

provide them with job opportunities. Indians will then be able to participate more productively in Canadian society.

Native Studies

The paucity of Native elements in the school curricula reflects one of the dilemmas facing educators. On the one hand, there is ample evidence to suggest that language and culture are closely related. The need for children to learn a new language when they enter school in Grade 1 produces many problems for both pupils and teachers. On the other hand, allowing children to retain their Native language in their first years at school may lead to further ethnic retentions and an inability to integrate into the larger Canadian society. While school administrators in northern Alberta have decided to provide bilingual education for Native students, urban schools have not.

The curriculum materials so far developed by Alberta are evidence of the fact that good resources for Native studies exist. Unfortunately, there seems to be little money available to develop the pedagogical methods and materials necessary to provide the cultural education some Indians want. The lack of such resources in the class-room also reflects a need to make those that do exist known and accessible to teachers.

Native-Education Programs

Native-education programs range from those of a peripheral nature to full-scale projects. Naturally, their emphasis differs from program to program. They also vary in terms of the degree of Native input. Regardless of the degree of such input, however, such programs are almost always funded through government agencies.

Many non-Natives responsible for Native Studies Programs spend inordinate amounts of time attempting to determine the content of those programs. Many of the programs that have been developed have evolved or been planned by persons without any knowledge of other existing programs. One provincial educator pointed out:

> Individuals working in the area of Indian education are aware of existing programs, but they do not have a clear understanding of the goals, objectives and policies of the specific programs nor how their own program articulates with existing programs. There is, at this time, no way of organizing and disseminating the information.

The increasing number of Indians in Alberta's schools is forcing the government to deal directly with the provision of education to Indians. In the 1950s and into the 1960s, Native people were located in isolated pockets throughout the province and were easily dealt with. Now, with the increased urbanization and the organizational capabilities of Indians, the problem of Indian education is not so easily handled. One provincial authority has remarked:

> We have the case of 'X' community where a school is necessary. However, the IIAP informs us that they have no money in their budget to begin construction. They don't go any further. They don't say, "Let's make some sort of arrangement over this issue." They just tell us they don't have the money and walk away. So we have decided that the school is necessary and we're going to build the school regardless, and *we're going to build it big enough to accommodate Indian children.*[11]

A Search for Policy

Most of Alberta's provincial schools lack specific programs of Native studies. Interviews with many educators disclosed their belief that schools should provide an education in a relatively value-free context. At the same time, educators were subjected to the tenets of multiculturalism, which stressed the diversity within Canadian society. In short, they are caught in a very real dilemma.

The search for a positive Native policy is not limited to the political arena. Within Alberta's Department of Education, policy decisions are made at various levels. However, the context--and eventually the impact—of those decisions becomes more and more restricted because of the frame of reference of various branches. Often lower-level policies that govern specific tasks are based on an assumed general policy. In reality, it turns out that each branch interprets the 'general' policy in terms of some possible or convenient application to its own priorities and functions. To the extent that teachers make assumptions about educational priorities on the basis of apparent Departmental activity, the present status of Native people and their education lacks consistency.

Department of Education

The structure of Alberta's Department of Education limits, to some extent, communication and co-ordination of activities relating to the education of Native people. An awareness of the need to recognize Native people in this area of service is evident throughout the Department. However, the action of most Departmental personnel relative to Native people is governed by other priorities and consequent duties. As a result, co-ordination of effective action is conspicuous by its absence.

Communication and co-ordination of activities relating to Native education appear to be made more difficult by the sheer number of people in the Department of Education and in the provincial schools, who have only a secondary interest in Native education. Needs in this area have been expressed, and passed on to those assumed to be in a position to respond. Native representatives have met with teachers, administrators, school boards, and officials of the Department of Education. However, the structure of the educational system rarely, if ever, allows for individual members of a particular staff to devote all their time to considering the complexities of all facets of education pertaining to Native people.

Similar problems also exist for Inter-Cultural Education Consultants employed in Field Services. In transferring information about program innovations and resource materials to teachers, consultants find it difficult to function without adequate supporting policy and relevant educational materials. For example, there is only limited co-ordination among the Educational Opportunities Fund, Early Childhood Services, Curriculum Branch, Audio-Visual Services, Field Services, ACCESS and Planning and Research. All these branches are expected to be aware of the complexities of Native education, and all make educational decisions that affect Native people. In some way, all segments of the Department become involved in Native education, even if only tangentially, but none has the privilege of consulting with a co-ordinating agent whose sole purpose it is to keep track of various developments as they potentially affect Native people. Similar organizational limitations are found in schools.

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

DIAND is oriented primarily to providing primary and secondary education for status Indians living on reserves. It does this through a combination of reserve schools and agreements with local school boards, which involve the enrolment of Indian children in the provincial school system. DIAND's policy with respect to off-reserve urban Indians is to provide support for the first year only of their off-reserve residence. After that their education, like all other services pertaining to their life experience, is considered a provincial responsibility. The actual practice of DIAND is to provide support for Indians living off reserve in the form of monies for textbooks, supplies and tuition costs. However, at the time of writing, DIAND's policy manual dealing with education had been rescinded and thus was inoperative. DIAND's education officials were, in essence, working without any policy.

Indian and Inuit Affairs Programs

IIAP documents so far examined indicate that IIAP has never formally questioned its assumptions concerning education. In general, IIAP has emulated common Canadian practice. This single practice seems to explain a good deal of IIAP's failure to provide opportunities for educational success as defined in terms of the perceived needs and differences of Indians. In summary, IIAP has never produced a comprehensive plan of educational programs for Indians. No systematically developed understanding prevails of what has happened in this field or why.

There are, however, specific tenets that are integral to IIAP programs. First of all, no matter how subtly it is framed, the tacit belief exists that Native people will ultimately integrate into the larger Canadian society. Secondly, a belief exists that a state of personal disadvantage stems essentially from an individual, and not from society or its structural relations. This notion is best summed up in the concept of 'rugged individualism'. Another tenet made evident in the structure of most programs is that experiential learning is particularly effective with illiterate and semi-literate groups.

Again, Indian children are often defined as 'disadvantaged'. This argument contends that because of their lack of 'readiness', as defined in terms of criteria for school achievement within the dominant society, Indian children get off to a bad start in non-Indian schools. As a result of this view, IIAP tends to provide programs that will help 'disadvantaged' children. Little attention has been paid to, or accommodation made for, other types of abilities, such as 'street wisdom' or the ability to think in metaphoric/symbolic terms. Another tenet that affects the provision of educational opportunities is that the more that is done for people, the less they will do for themselves. It is accepted, however, that a 'starter' period may be necessary to allow 'beginners' to develop the necessary skills and/or motivation to become 'achievers'.

Government policy and procedures relating to education have been geared to developing an administrative system. Certain changes in educational policy have been the result of DIAND officials trying to implement a program under most trying circumstances. Other changes have been a result of the work of one influential person. In the end, an administrative system has evolved which tries to accommodate an immense complex of disparities across the entire country. There is a great deal of information that suggests that under difficult geographical and political conditions, the IAAP has provided a delivery system. In fact, IIAP is not like any other government department and thus cannot be assessed like other departments. It differs in a variety of ways:

- Its working conditions will always be affected by intercultural tensions.
- Its goal is the development of a human group, and the achievement of this goal requires strong persistent effort.
- While its decision-making process is hierarchically structured, it must relate to a horizontally directed decision-making process.
- Its consulting process is hierarchical rather than modular/cyclical in its organization.

Notes

1. In Alberta approximately 8 to 10 per cent of Indian students were attending integrated schools in 1955. By 1976 nearly two-thirds of such students were in integrated schools.
2. The construction of day schools was quicker and cheaper, both in capital and operating costs, than that of residential schools.
3. That is to say, the school authority would receive the funds paid by the appropriate funding agent (provincial or federal) on a 'pupil-per-day' basis towards the cost of educating the eligible children.
4. During the 1950s, Métis parents were forced to send their children to school on pain of having their family-allowance checks withheld. This strategy was suggested by one influential educator in a meeting dealing with policies towards Native people.
5. In 1960 the Northland School District of Alberta made an agreement with the federal government regarding education. The provincial government would educate Natives on a cost-shared basis with the federal government, and the provincial government was assured of autonomy in education.
6. It has been argued that the federal government was acting outside the terms of reference of the Indian Act. For example, the provision of education for Indians under six and over eighteen years old was outside the terms of that Act. However, in 1970 an EDL was sent out, part of which deals with off-reserve Indians. This document, which was the first to state that the federal government may cover some costs for education of off-reserve Indians, could be interpreted as a contradiction of sections 114–123 of the Indian Act.
7. The parents of Indian students who live on reserves are not eligible to vote for school trustees. The School Act specifies that Natives who do not pay taxes cannot vote.

8. Most of the bands seem to have understood the concrete implications of their claims. Some, however, have not. Recently, through a band-council resolution, one of the remote bands in northwestern Alberta dissociated itself from the 1979 brief because it wanted to continue to work with the Alberta Department of Education.
9. On 14 February 1980, Alberta's Provincial Human Rights Commission confirmed the position stated by the Minister in a decision in which a Euro-Canadian woman wanted to attend a Native school, but was initially refused admission. She appealed the decision, and it was decided, on appeal, that if the program was open only to Indians, it was discriminatory and thus illegal.
10. Private schools are not eligible for this funding.
11. Author's emphasis.

4: Law and Justice

Background

Law and justice comprehend three aspects: police, courts and correctional institutions. Under section 91 (14) of the Constitution Act 1867, provincial legislatures have exclusive power in the provinces to create and maintain both civil and criminal courts, as well as to administer justice. Moreover, while criminal law is a federal concern, it is generally administered by provincial authorities in a system of provincial courts. The parole system also has a federal-provincial structure. The Alberta Parole Board acts in a supportive role in that it deals with provincial statutes. Probation, on the other hand, falls entirely within provincial jurisdiction, since the federal government has never legislated directly on probation standards that would apply universally across Canada.

Police

There are three distinct levels at which policing has developed and is carried out: federal, provincial and municipal. The federal Royal

Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) is organized under the authority of the RCMP Act, and Alberta, like eight other provinces, has contracted with the federal government for the provision of provincial policing services by the RCMP. The third level—and the largest body—of police consists of the municipal forces.

Courts

In Alberta, by the mid-1960s, a provincial court worker was spending most of his time working with Natives as an interpreter, helping the accused contact legal counsel, and acting as a general referral agent. The legal system was finding it increasingly difficult to justify the 'own fault' theory of deviance in regard to Native people, to provide a fair hearing to the accused, and to process the increasing number of Natives coming before the courts. About the same time, the whole legal system was becoming concerned with the validity of its own operations as increasing numbers of Natives were being sentenced to terms in federal and provincial jails. Judges were concerned about legal justice; correctional institutions were concerned about their crowded conditions; lawyers were concerned about payment for representing indigents; and social workers were faced with a budget cut-back and were trying to deploy their existing personnel and facilities to cover one more service.

A number of organizations, both Native and non-Native, as well as some social workers, began to press for a clear-cut answer to the question of how many Natives were in jail. By the late 1960s, the report *Indians and the Law* documented for the first time the figures on the imprisonment of Native people. Until the end of that decade, changes in the area of law and justice were minimal and sporadic. However, by the early 1970s, it had become increasingly clear to all parties concerned that some additional support system was needed to facilitate the fair processing of Native people through the legal system, and substantive widespread changes began to be introduced.

Many of the law-related organizations that deal with Natives emerged after the Supreme Court's 1969 decision in *Regina* vs. *Drybones* and the concurrent influx of Natives into urban areas. The Supreme Court's decision cleared the way for Natives to drink in public places. As a consequence, Natives now drink in public, and the police are left with the responsibility for enforcing laws relating to alcohol and public conduct. Our data show that police exercise a great deal of discretion in enforcing the Provincial Liquor Act. Discussions with police officers suggest that Natives are less likely to be charged with liquor offences than are other members of the public because of the belief that alcoholism and public misconduct are more inherent among Natives than among non-Natives. In essence, it seems that police show a higher threshold of tolerance of deviant behaviour for Natives than for non-Natives.

Correctional Institutions

The correctional system carries out the sentences of the courts and takes action to facilitate the adaptation of discharged prison inmates to the society they are re-entering. The federal and provincial governments share the provision of correctional and rehabilitative services and programs. The basis for this division of responsibility is the 'two-year' rule.[1] At the federal level, correctional services were provided, until fairly recently, by the Canadian Penitentiary Service and the National Parole Board Service. In 1979 these two Services merged to form the Correctional Service of Canada.

The community-based residential centres (CRCs), which are privately sponsored, emerged after 1960, when governments accepted them as an integral part of the larger correctional system. Prior to the

1960s, these 'half-way houses' were considered merely as adjuncts to the correctional system; they were seen as dispensing some aid to those persons experiencing difficulty with re-entering society after having served terms in prison. At the time of writing, there were twenty-two programs operating in Alberta under this plan.

A study carried out by the Department of the Solicitor General during 1976–77 provides us with the basic data about Native involvement in the legal/correctional system of Alberta. The 1977 figures show that of the sample of sentenced inmates, 34 per cent were Native; of these, 20 per cent were status Indians, and 14 per cent were non-status Indians and Métis. These figures, compared to those of earlier studies, seem to suggest that there has been an increase in the proportion of sentenced Native persons imprisoned in Alberta's correctional institutions.[2] However, regional variations were evident, and specific regions seemed to contribute disproportionately to the jail population. For example, over half of the total number of Indians admitted to the provincial jails were from southern Alberta.

Of the sentenced inmates Natives tended to be older (26+ years of age), than non-Native inmates; in general, Native inmates were poorly educated (to less than Grade-10 level), occupationally unskilled, from rural areas, more likely to have a problem with alcohol, more likely to have had five or more commitments prior to the sentence they were serving, and less likely to be committed on their first offence.

Policy

The members of the legal system in Alberta have, like those in other areas of North America, subscribed to the theory that conflict with the law is (with some exceptions) a direct result of a conscious decision of the criminal. In other words, most people are responsible for the illegal acts they commit.

Until the mid-twentieth century, the predominant policy in correctional institutions has been one of punishment. About this time, a new philosophy of rehabilitation emerged. In 1956 a report of a committee appointed to inquire into the principles and procedures followed in the remission services of the Department of Justice of Canada once again assessed the rationale and policies relating to corrections in Canada.[3] Current thinking on corrections seems to follow the 'medical model': the belief that criminal factors exist within the individual offender, and that by modifying that individual, he or she can be rehabilitated. This view was challenged in 1975 by the Law Reform Commission of Canada and in 1977 by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee on the Penitentiary System in Canada. These groups have exerted substantial pressure to direct policy away from the rehabilitative perspective.

The more recently popular 'personal reformation' model emphasizes the personal responsibility of a prisoner for his or her own behaviour. Today we find that both the 'rehabilitation' and 'personal reformation' policies are implemented in federal and provincial correctional institutions. Indeed, one problem pointed out by our respondents was that different authorities used different models in treating criminals.

One of the major policy trends since 1950 has been the development of alternatives to jail sentences, which would allow the offender to remain in the community. This program development arose for several complementary reasons: humanitarian conviction against jailing people; the belief that jails were not rehabilitating people, and that prisons were expensive to operate; and the opinion that public safety would not be compromised by releasing some prisoners into the community. Community-based correctional centres have now become an accepted part of Alberta's correctional system. These centres provide an alternative to imprisonment and shorten the time that convicted persons spend in prison.

Programs

The Alberta government has chosen not to create and operate a plethora of programs relating to law and justice. Instead, it supports various private agencies that carry out the actual programs, such as the Assistant Probation Officer Program, the Community Service Order, and the Fine Options Program. The federal government is involved in policing through the 3B Option program, and the municipal governments of both Calgary and Edmonton have been involved in appointing Native liaison officers as part of their community/police-relations units. Other law-related programs in Alberta are operated by private agencies which receive funding from the provincial government. For example, in 1979, the province designated nearly $1 million to support private agencies dealing with law and justice. This amount was supplemented by monies from other agencies: federal, provincial, municipal, and private.

Alberta decided to restrict its own law and justice programs in the early 1960s, in an attempt to integrate the concepts of private enterprise and government control. In the same period, an analysis was made of the province's existing programs dealing with the rehabilitation of offenders. The provincial government found that there were programs, such as those sponsored by the John Howard Society, already in operation. It realized, too, that if it were to enter this area, it would have to create a new bureaucratic and institutional structure. In addition to its concern about the projected costs involved, the government considered that local programs had emerged from local conditions and were therefore best suited to integrate individuals into the larger community on a local basis.

The Alberta government evaluated several rehabilitation programs and determined that they were as successful in treating criminals as were government-operated programs elsewhere. Given that it was cheaper to fund existing programs, that these programs were probably as effective as any plan the government could implement, and that they would allow private enterprise to carry on, the province decided on this course. By 1974 all these somewhat disparate programs were placed under the Alberta Residential Centre Program (ARC). This bureaucratic structure allowed for each private organization to retain its autonomy, yet be part of a larger complex. By forming the ARC, the Alberta government could regularize the funding of the various agencies, monitor their activities, and standardize their processes of operation. For example, it could regularize and standardize the various agencies' links with the Department of Social Services and other government programs.

Crime Prevention/Law Enforcement

By the mid-1960s the federal government had begun to review crime statistics pertaining to reserves and had concluded that policing on the reserves had been less than adequate. In 1967 it published the conclusions drawn from these statistics in a document entitled *Indians and the Law*. In response to the findings, the Department of Indian and Northern Development (DIAND) adopted a new policy in 1971, which was embodied in a document known as "Circular 55". "Circular 55" brought about modifications in policing on the reserves, but it was not intended to serve as a permanent document.

A federal/provincial program relating to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Indian Special Constable (ISC) program (otherwise known as the 3B Option) was established in the mid-1970s. Although the Indian Associations lobbied the government to create a separate Indian Police Force, the government decided, as a kind of compromise, to create a special branch of the RCMP. The 3B Option was a direct result of Native input into a federal government report published in 1973: "The Report of Task Force: Policing on Reserves". It was developed to give Natives an opportunity to assume greater responsibility for law enforcement and to help solve the problem of communication between regular members of the RCMP and Indians. It was jointly funded on a 60 per cent/40 per cent basis by the federal government and the Alberta government respectively. The goal of the 3B Option is to bring about greater confidence on the part of Indians in the administration of justice.

In 1975, a troop of nine Indians in 'K' Division, now increased to twenty-six men, was established in Alberta. These special constables are posted to urban centres, but do most of their work on the reserves, since the RCMP considers it "advisable that they work on the reserves." For the most part, in Alberta the ISC program is used by Indian people as an informal means of communication with the authorities: local residents tell the IS Constable what is going on in their community (reserve or urban), and he, in turn, informs the detachment commander. In return for their information, Natives expect better treatment by the police. On the basis of a study conducted in 1978, over two-thirds of the IS Constables spent more than half of their on-duty time on the reserves.

The police forces of both Edmonton and Calgary have established Native Liaison Officers as a part of their community-relations programs. The position of Liaison Officer was created in an attempt to effect some order and systemization in the way that police related to and dealt with Native people and to achieve some credibility for the authorities of law enforcement with the local, urban, Native population. Prior to the creation of this position, *ad hoc* programs, or what police called 'hit-and-most-times-miss' programs were implemented. The Community Relations Unit gave legitimacy to the new position and provided moral and experiential support for the new Officers in their dealings with Natives. It also created an organizational context in which this sub-unit of police could act.

The Liaison Officer

- Is an individual to whom Native people can go for advice and information, as well as to express their complaints

- Gives assistance to officers in the field
- Provides information to members of the police force about Natives and their culture
- Gives emergency services, such as providing groceries and bus fare, to Native people
- Works with existing organizations, such as NCSA and 'detox' centres, that deal with Native people.

Both Edmonton and Calgary have experienced a variety of Native problems in the past decade. Calgary experienced the explosive Native 'sit-ins' of 1973-74, and Edmonton experienced other Native/non-Native conflicts. After these disturbances, the police realized that little advance warning would be given of future flare-ups, and that unless a program was in place before a crisis occurred, little could be done to reduce the impact. They also realized that conventional crime-prevention programs lacked relevance for Native people.[4] No activities carried out by a Liaison Officer are a result of formal agreements between himself and a particular agency or organization. To a certain extent, the relationship between the Officer and the organization depends on the amount of time the Officer has and the personnel of the specific organization.

Court Proceedings

Two major programs relating to court proceedings involve Natives in a number of situations, that is, prior to trial, during trial and, in some instances, immediately after trial. The programs are linked and have some similarities. They are not government programs, yet both receive substantial funding from the provincial government.

The general view of the Solicitor General's office with regard to Natives and the legal system is that Natives are very different from non-Natives in their cultural background. This perspective is recent, and its relevance to legal proceedings has not fully been implemented. It is taken *as fact* that Natives' understanding and acceptance of non-Indian ways of life is very limited, and vice versa. Consequently, Natives were assumed to have insufficient understanding of their legal rights and of court procedures.

Note should be taken of the rationale for and accountability of legal programs. An administrator in the operating sector of these programs told us:

> Evaluation is 'in' this year. Everything has to be evaluated. We have a program that involves two people. We'll be spending nearly ten thousand dollars and a hell of a lot of time by some of our workers to evaluate this 'program'.

All of the justice-related programs are evaluated at least once a year, and more intense evaluations are made less frequently. For those programs that are funded by the Office of the Solicitor General of Canada, evaluation is now a condition of accepting the money provided. Moreover, the Treasury Board is now forcing the Justice Department, which administers such programs, to account for and justify the expenditures of all money allocated to its work. While some internal evaluation is allowed, much of the process requires the expenditure of funds to bring in an external independent consultant to evaluate a program. The constraints placed on funds and time are such that staff of many programs consider that the resultant evaluations are vague, general and unproductive for the continuing operation of their organizations.

Existing law-related programs are diverse, but narrow in focus. Except for a program that trains Natives to become RCMP-related officers, they are not directly Native related. Consistent with Alberta's policy of making no provision for the implementation of programs for specific ethnic or racial groups, the province's law-related programs are available to any provincial resident.

Native Counselling Services of Alberta

Native Counselling Services of Alberta (NCSA) is registered under the Societies Act of Alberta and, accordingly, is a non-political, non-sectarian organization open to *all* residents of the province. Formally, it is not directly affiliated with any other political or non-political organization. Indirectly, however, it seeks and receives support from most of the Indian and Métis organizations in the province.[5] Except for NCSA, few of Alberta's law-related bodies include any Natives in their formal structure, even though a large proportion of their clients are Native. For example, about one-third of the legal aid certificates that are issued in Alberta apply to Native people.

The only Albertan agency that assumes substantive differences between Natives and non-Natives is NCSA. While administrators of other programs acknowledge cultural differences between the two groups, they dismiss these differences as irrelevant to the processes of law. For example, one informant from Legal Aid stated:

> Indians . . . don't go on a rigid time schedule like you and me, and maybe one has to be a bit more flexible in ways like that . . . but not really allow for any difference that is drastic . . . .

However, NCSA's acceptance of significant differences between Natives and non-Natives does not explain its survival or its rapid growth. Several key informants suggested the following reasons for these phenomena. First, NCSA has linked itself to other existing 'legitimate' organizations such as Alberta's Legal Resource Centre and its Law Foundation.

Secondly, through these links, NCSA developed slide and sound shows that it makes available to any interested individual, group, or community in Alberta; this program has made NCSA highly visible. NCSA uses the relationships it has established to 'legitimize' its own existence and to persuade external agencies of the need for its own continuance. Moreover, NCSA has established a rapport with individuals and organizations involved in the legal process in Alberta. For example, one provincial court judge remarked:

> The court could operate without a replacement of an NCSA worker, . . . but there would be a definite lack of efficiency and a lack of natural justice to the Native people, which prevail at this time.

The Assistant Commissioner of the RCMP also stated:

> We fully support . . . the counselling services in their efforts to expand their program of court services and the counselling services. . . . These Services help the police also in our own investigations.

Thirdly, NCSA has been able to achieve a high degree of credibility with Native people and organizations by drawing upon their expertise and by placing workers in communities where Natives live.[6] Finally, NCSA has been able to produce 'hard' data demonstrating the economic worth of the program: for example, in its submissions to granting agencies, it is able to demonstrate quantitatively how much money it is saving the provincial government.

NCSA contracts with Alberta to provide court-worker service for Native people throughout the province. The program was initially funded by both DIAND and the province, and its focus centred on criminal-court work, but it has now expanded to include a variety of related programs. Some of these are urban related, others are not.

NCSA believes that Native people's past involvement in, and conflict with, the Canadian legal system lies partly in the social position of Natives, partly in the different life-styles of Native and non-Native Canadians, and partly in the attitudes of non-Natives. For these reasons, two general purposes guide the work of the NCSA:

- To increase non-Native people's understanding of the legal system as it affects Natives
- To increase the understanding of the larger Canadian community about Native people.

The function of the NCSA is to provide legal information and counselling to people involved with the legal system; to provide referrals, parole, and probation supervision; and to organize, develop and maintain comprehensive programs relating to the criminal-justice system, the family, the community, and other areas of social relevance to the Native people of Alberta. NCSA also acts as a resource for other agencies and groups involved with Natives, assists public and private agencies, and trains Natives for possible jobs with the Society. The objectives of the program are to provide special services in provincial courts and Queen's Court, to ensure that Indian people understand and exercise their rights.

In 1971, when NCSA became an autonomous unit, DIAND and the Human Resources Development Authority of Alberta worked out a financial arrangement that was to last until 1974. An agreement was then made for a further two-year period. The initial arrangements were that the federal government would pay 50 per cent of the sharable costs of NCSA's operation, and the province the remaining 50 per cent. The actual costs were 30 per cent federal and 64 per cent provincial. The initial annual budget of $85 000 has now grown to nearly $2 million. As NCSA's budget has increased, its sources of funding have also changed: for example, DIAND is no longer directly involved in financing the program.

Criminal Court Workers

There are two sub-programs of NCSA that merit specific discussion. One of these involves the program's criminal-court workers. At present there are thirty criminal-court workers, whose duties involve all aspects of the criminal-justice system. These workers deal with persons brought to court at all points of their experience, the laying of charges, the trial of accused persons, the post-sentencing disposition of convicted persons, and the release of offenders back into the community. In 1978–79, services were provided for nearly 17 000 clients. In addition to handling legal and other concerns of clients, criminal-court workers were involved in other activities, such as giving legal information, providing client support, and counselling clients. The case-workers also work in close co-operation with the justice system to ensure that its agencies and personnel are aware of and sensitive to the circumstances, concerns, needs and perspectives of the Native people it deals with.

Family Court Workers

This program began in 1974, when the Law Foundation of Alberta provided the NCSA with initial funds to hire one court worker to work in the family and juvenile courts in Edmonton. At the time of writing, twenty-eight court workers work in the province's family and juvenile courts. These workers provide liaison between Native children and their parents and social workers and the courts. Their goal is to ensure that Natives who appear in court are fully aware of their rights and responsibilities, as well as of procedures involved at each stage of the legal process. Family Court workers also supervise Native families to prevent the apprehension of children and to assist in reuniting family members who have parted. They also provide assistance with juvenile programs in detention centres.

Services for nearly 7000 clients were provided in 1978-79 at four different court levels: Family Court, Juvenile Court, and District and Supreme Courts. In addition to court-related services, these workers also provide clients with counselling, legal information and other educational aid.

The Legal Aid Society

Prior to the creation of the Legal Aid Society, legal aid was provided, in major urban centres, by a committee of lawyers who attempted to look after the legal needs of persons unable to secure legal assistance. In smaller communities, some lawyer would take responsibility for providing free legal services for those unable to pay.

The Legal Aid Society emerged from discussions between the Law Society of Alberta and the Attorney General's office. Speaking to the Alberta Bar Association in 1967, Premier Manning, who was also Alberta's Attorney General, suggested that a legal aid program should be created. He established a four-man commission to review the matter and report back to the Law Society of Alberta and the Attorney General's Office.[7]

A pilot project was started in Edmonton and subsequently evaluated. While there was some sporadic opposition to the plan, it was neither organized nor strong. Backers of the program pointed out that the legal aid program going on in Ontario (and undertaken earlier in England) was beneficial to society and maintained the traditional principles of a democracy, including the right of counsel for all persons charged with an offense against the law. A further argument in support of legal aid (though not one discussed in public) arose from the fact that lawyers were demanding to be paid for their services. It was argued that lawyers should not be a segment of society singled out to provide services to the public without remuneration. It was also suggested that the implementation of legal aid would allow criminal law to be practised as a profitable profession.

Prior to the establishment of a legal aid system in Alberta, the only resource an accused indigent had when facing the court system was the hope that the presiding judge would define the charges as serious enough to have a solicitor appointed for the defendant; the solicitor appointed would not receive any financial compensation. However, in July 1970, an agreement was made between the Attorney General of the Province of Alberta and the Law Society of Alberta for setting up and administering a legal aid plan. In 1973 Alberta's legal aid program was incorporated under the Societies Act and called the 'Legal Aid Society'.

The Society provides legal services for any person in Alberta charged with an indictable offense contrary to an Act of Parliament, and for litigants in civil matters who are not financially able to pay for a lawyer's services. The Society runs a number of programs, but its relationship with NCSA is the most germane to our interests.[8] NCSA works with the Legal Aid Society to ensure that newly appointed Native court workers learn about legal aid operations.

The impact of legal aid on Native people stems from the fact that the program allows them to be represented by a lawyer. Accused persons represented by legal counsel are more likely to engage in plea negotiation and to receive light sentences than those not so represented. Approximately 30 per cent of the cases handled by Legal Aid involve Native people. There were approximately 11 728 of these cases in 1978. The figure is approximate because the Society has no formal policy concerning Native people, even though it acknowledges differences between Native and non-Native cultures. A case is specified as involving a Native person only if the charge pertains to treaty rights.

Corrections/Rehabilitation

Our consideration of public programs relating to corrections and rehabilitation will focus on jails, probation services and diversion programs.

Jails

As we have already mentioned, Canada uses two types of jails: federal and provincial. Neither institution has any program that is directed exclusively to Native people. However, administrators allow, and sometimes encourage, outside organizations to develop voluntary associations within the jails. Jail officials generally agreed in their view of Indian inmates. One official stated, for example: "We like Native inmates. Most of them come in because of some alcohol-related offense. After we dry them out, they are good prisoners." He went on to explain that a 'good prisoner' is one who does what he or she is told, does not make demands on the system, and generally acquiesces in all demands made of him or her.

In 1972 NCSA entered an agreement with the Canadian Penitentiary Services to create Liaison Officers. Later that year, a similar agreement was made with the Alberta Correctional Services. Since then, Liaison Officers worked in both federal and provincial jails and correctional institutions. The aim of these Officers is to help Native inmates to understand institutional programs, procedures and services. They act as resource persons to Native groups within the institutions and provide liaison between Native persons, groups and communities and the inmate during imprisonment and after release. The specific services they provide include counselling, providing legal contacts, educational and employment assistance, parole planning and obtaining day and full parole. Generally Liaison Officers also sit on classification and selection committees within correctional institutions.

One of the functions of NCSA is to facilitate the establishment of the Native Brotherhood within Alberta's jails. The Native Brotherhood Program is basically one of teaching Native culture and attempting to install in Natives a positive sense of self-identity. These programs focus on Native dancing and crafts and allow Natives to interact with other

Natives. All of this activity reinforces the positive value of 'Nativeness' and assures the individual that more information about Native culture can be provided.

Probation services

Because the federal government is responsible for criminal law, it effectively controls the extent to which probation can be practised. Since, however, a major part of the administration of criminal justice is under provincial jurisdiction, each provincial service develops its own facilities to carry out the intent of the federal law. In Alberta, probation of juveniles is under the provincial Social Services system, while adult probation is administered by the Department of the Solicitor General.

Alberta's treatment of juvenile offenders is based on the concept that they are children in need of aid and assistance. This concept relates the treatment of juvenile offenders to the purpose of child-protection intervention. Correction in a social service system is planned to meet the needs of those who require the service. Hence the system tends to focus on service to the offender, with the object of rehabilitation, rather than on other concerns, such as the protection of society or the deterrence of criminal offenders. In the matter of adult probation, the Government of Alberta favours the separation of legal services and court administration from law enforcement and corrections. It argues that the administration of justice should not be prejudiced by the administrative requirements of the operational aims that maintain it.

Amendments made to the Criminal Code in 1972 with regard to adult probation provided for a possible alternative to what officials called the 'revolving door' of short-term prison sentences. These amendments also meant that second offenders did not have to be imprisoned. While the changes in the Criminal Code did not stem directly from officials defining Natives as a problem clientèle, Natives were certainly affected by changes in probation legislation.

Currently one of Alberta's probation programs is directly related to Natives. The Assistant Probation Officer Program (APO) hires lay people as probation officers on a cost-per-parolee basis. These 'lay' officers are supervised by certified probation officers. The APO program, created in 1979, is province-wide, but is most heavily utilized in southern Alberta. Presently almost all of the APO's are Native people. The APO program was created to involve Native people in the work setting and to provide them with experience in that setting; to utilize responsible people where regular probation officers are unavailable or too costly; and to provide positive peer influence by using individuals within the Native community. This program ties in very closely with a second provincial program, Fine Options, which was developed prior to APO.

Diversion Programs

Diversion programs cover a number of processes affecting offenders against the law: community absorption, screening, pre-trial diversion and alternatives to imprisonment, such as conditional discharge, restitution, fines, suspended sentences and partial detention in a community-based residence. As the Law Reform Commission of Canada pointed out in 1975, the main premise on which the principle of diversion rests is that many forms of behaviour that cause social problems have been removed from the coverage of the criminal law, and this trend needs to be reversed. Thus, underlying the concept of diversion is the attitude of restraint in the use of the criminal law code. In short, the provincial government considered that alternative measures to the formal court process should be applied as long as the less punitive solution is consistent with the protection of society.

Sentences imposed on Natives by judges did not reflect any systematic bias. While each case brought before a judge is unique, most judges impose routine sentences on offenders. The fact that a person charged with a crime was Native did not seem to affect the sentence imposed. Discussions with several judges in the Calgary area and observations of actual court cases in progress suggest that each judge is unique in his or her perspective of Native persons and the causes and consequences of their behaviour.

Three major diversion programs that affect Native people have been implemented in Alberta. By early 1970 it was clear that nearly half of the province's prisoners were in jail because of non-payment of fines imposed by the courts. Two-thirds of Native prisoners are in jail for this reason. The Fine Options Program was created in 1976 after an analysis of reasons for inmates' admission to the correctional institutions of Alberta. The overall policy of this program is to keep individuals out of jails and to have people who do not or cannot pay their fines settle their sentences in a more productive and significant way. This program grew out of discussions between the police, jail administrators and social workers. The police pointed out that they spent an inordinate amount of their time in executing default warrants and providing escort services for the offenders. These activities, they argued, took time from enforcing laws and protecting society. They also pointed out that an anomaly existed in that the original offence was considered minor enough to be expiated by a fine, yet defaulting on the fine meant imprisonment. The social workers cautioned that individuals sentenced for minor offences would be exposed, in jail, to hardened criminals. In addition, they argued that imprisonment would affect the defaulter's personal and family relationships. Prison officials complained that the imprisonment of fine defaulters created serious administrative problems. For example, to admit a fine defaulter serving a sentence of ten days requires the same amount of staff time as admitting an offender sentenced to a term of two years less a day. Because of rapid turnover of defaulters in a jail, personnel spend a great deal of time processing, classifying and accommodating these minor offenders. They create a drain on institutional staff time and aggravate problems of inmate segregation, movement and programming. The final argument put forth by all parties concerned was the cost factor: the cost of police services, institutional operations, court processes, social services--the offender's family may have to go on welfare--and the lack of economic contribution by the offender while separated from society.

The Fine Options program operates at two levels. Its pre-institutional phase focuses on individuals who have been fined by the courts, but have not yet been sent to prison. This focus is appropriate for persons who are unable to pay a fine immediately. At the second level, the institutional phase, the program deals with individuals who are in prison as a result of defaulting on a fine. In the latter case, the condemned person is granted temporary freedom in order to participate in the Fine Options program if he or she is considered suitable.

The choices provided by the Fine Options Program are to pay a fine through paid employment, community-work service, or a combination of the first two methods. A defaulter who is able to find a paying job can then pay off a fine. However, for those defaulters whose employment is sporadic or whose income is marginal, an opportunity is provided to engage in community work. These community services are designed to benefit both the defaulter and the community. Special arrangements have been established with some of the reserves so that if a member of Band 'X' enters the Fine Options Program, even though he may live in an urban or off-reserve area, he may go back to his 'home' reserve and by negotiating an arrangement with the band council, work off his debt. By 1979, 4000 people were being processed under the Fine Options Program. Forty per cent of these were Natives.

Another provincial program that is also tied to the Fine Options and APO Program is the Community Service Order. This program specifies a condition of parole or an alternative to imprisonment or a fine. The offender is required to provide a stipulated number of hours of community service.

A second program implemented in 1975 through the joint efforts of the provincial and federal governments was the Pilot Alberta Restitution Program. The province also viewed the program as a service program which would operate in conjunction with existing and projected programs and agencies within the jurisdiction of the Solicitor General of Alberta; these programs and agencies included, for example, the provincial probation program, Community Release Centre, and correctional institutions. The province believed that society's interests would be better served by requiring offenders to make restitution to their victims, than by sending offenders to jail and relieving them of any further responsibility to the community. The new program was, in short, intended to serve as a process that would prevent many individuals from proceeding through the traditional legal process. However, a number of appellate court decisions ruled that pre-trial restitution was a violation of due process of law. In essence, such a process meant that a sentence was applied to a person who was only *alleged* to have committed an offence. The result of these decisions has been a reluctance to use the restitution procedure in court cases. Its applicability to Natives is further restricted by the fact that Natives are generally unable to provide restitution.

Community Residential/Corrections Centres

The Community Residential/Corrections Centres (CRC's/CCC's), which provide a diversion program for offenders, are under the jurisdiction of the Office of the Solicitor General of Alberta. The purpose of the Centres is to provide supervised residences in the community; offer individuals the counselling and assistance they need; and operate a referral service. Before an individual can be accepted into a CRC, a referral process must be followed. Referral sources are institutional services, community connections, Canadian Correction Service, or the courts. Individuals referred to CRC's are usually jail inmates on temporary leave of absence, parolees, probationers, post-releasees and persons on remand. The financial arrangements between the specific programs and the funding agencies, such as the Solicitor General of Canada, DIAND, and AADA, vary from one centre to another.

CRC/CCC programs, as the name indicates, are residential in structure; some residences are 'co-ed', and none house more than forty residents. Most of these programs provide for the physical needs of the residents offering, food, shelter and some recreation. All of the Centres have a general policy of integration, but the means by which a resident, either Native or non-Native, is to achieve integration into the larger society is in contention. A range of diverse opinions exists on this point. On the one hand, some Centres operate on the theory that integration can only be brought about by 'experts' and their knowledge. A concomitant of this view is generally the tenet that the Centre's staff must be in total control of the resident, and that he or she must establish and adhere to long-range goals. In other words, the Centre's programs must be definitive, structured, staffed by professionals, and operated in a professional manner. The behaviour of the residents in these Centres is controlled, monitored and continually shaped by professionals. At the opposite end of the range, other Centres operate on the principle that convicts can only be helped by other convicts, since "cons know best about cons". This view incorporates the concept of self-help as the *sine qua non* of rehabilitation. A primary goal of these latter Centres is to establish trust among convicts and to convince them that they must always honour their word. Convicts entering such a Centre's program are, in effect, giving their word that they will integrate into society and 'go straight'. These programs are not meant to be structured, but to remain informal and relatively flexible. An example of this type of program is Seven Steps.

The residential programs of Alberta's other CRC/CCC's range between these two positions. Some administrations agree to the programs' need for professionalism, yet refuse to adopt highly structured programs. Others try to provide a highly structured, controlled environment, yet rely only minimally on professional 'experts'. Nevertheless, all programs do depend, to a certain extent, on professionals, for political reasons and to maintain their legitimacy.

It is obvious that Natives do not participate in certain CRC programs. Acceptance into a particular program usually depends on an agency's referral of an individual to that program and the acceptability of the individual for the program, as determined by an interview with the CRC's staff. Some CRC's select their clients very carefully so as to assure that they will pass successfully through the program provided. Since places are limited, this means that after most clients have been selected to participate in a CRC program, two major groups remain: older recidivists and Native persons. One informant maintained, "The parole service dumps the real losers into specific loser agencies. The guys that are sure to make it are snapped up within a day of being in the slammer or on parole...."

Referral agencies know from experience the nature of each CRC and program that exists, and they are aware of what sort of referrals to a particular program are likely—or unlikely—to be accepted. If too many of their referrals to particular programs are rejected, they fear that they may 'look bad'. The only formal difference in programs offered is that some are alcohol related and some are not. Other differences are informal and do not appear in the permanent records of the various CRC's. Although no agency or program has a formal policy of excluding Native people, data shows that Natives are highly concentrated in a few programs. These are *not*, according to our informants, the 'better' programs.

When the directors and/or board members of each CRC/CCC were asked why they had no Native clients, or only a small proportion of Native clients, in their program, they usually answered, "None are referred," or "They wouldn't fit into our program." After these responses, coupled with the added statement, "Besides, there are Native half-way houses," the matter was dropped.

Natives leaving a provincial correctional institution are almost automatically referred to 'the Native houses'; if they are being released from a federal prison, they are referred, on the same basis, to a federal half-way house. Information from the federal half-way houses shows that the average stay of Natives sent there is three days. These people have become what are known locally as 'runners': they run away from a half-way house only to be picked up later and returned to prison to finish their term. Most of the Native half-way houses are set up to handle persons with alcohol problems; it is obvious that the environment they provide is unlikely to help those Natives whose problems are not related to alcohol.

A great deal of conflict has been generated by the different views of the two types of CRC's/CCC's. Unfortunately, each type considers that the other's policy is irrelevant and ineffectual. As the referral agencies have become more 'professional', they have tended to make greater use of the highly structured, professionally oriented, urban agencies. Thus, at the time of writing, it would seem that the policy of these latter agencies is winning out.

Conclusions

Over the past two decades, Alberta's Native leaders have been attempting to provide their people with a service that was previously lacking. The initial programs develped in NCSA reflect this desire. However, it was clear to Natives from the outset that they would have to operate within the existing legal structure of the majority culture. For example, Native inquiries about the possibility of establishing band juries or reserve courts met with strong opposition. This was forcefully brought home to Native people when the Métis Association undertook to provide counselling services. It was obvious that unless the Association could convince the existing organizations and agencies that they could provide a service that was useful and could be integrated into existing provincial services, the Métis program was doomed to failure. Unfortunately, from the Métis point of view, to align themselves with existing 'legitimate' agencies and organizations meant relinquishing to those agencies and organizations some of the control they sought to exercise over their own program. Control is exercised in forming the actual structure of the program, through the establishment of the program's goals, and through the handling of the program's funds.

The strategy of the newly emerging Native organizations was to relinquish some control in the hope that, in the future, they would be able to exert more control over their own programs' goals and objectives.[8] To a greater or lesser extent, the financing agencies and/or organizations control Native-directed programs through financing, evaluation, and through appointment of particular people as members of boards of directors. Over the past twenty years, each program revealed some changes in focus, scope, structure and administration. These changes are as much a result of internal factors as of external ones. They also affected the policy of the various organizations, although in many cases formal policy changes had not taken place. Instead, an earlier policy still remained officially in place, even though the operative policy was different. This change of operative policy within a conservative administrative framework seems typical of many organizations, for whether a program changes or remains the same seems to depend on internal, as well as external, forces. For example, the Board of Review investigating courts and the administration of justice did not originally plan to examine the role or impact of Natives in the court system. Later, however, it did address this issue and made several recommendations relevant to the administration of justice with regard to Natives. The impact of these recommendations on the Office of the Solicitor General produced changes that were not anticipated, developed, or controlled by the agencies.

Notes

1. When a judge hands down a sentence, a term of a two years less a day means that the condemned person will be sent to a provincial jail; a sentence of two years or longer means that the condemned person will be imprisoned in a federal penitentiary.
2. In 1971-72, approximately 23 per cent of all admissions to Alberta's provincial jails were Native persons.
3. On the basis of the data collected in the 1978 study mentioned above, the consultants conclude that the program is effective in terms of the goals it was intended to achieve.
4. The history of NCSA reveals that it was once under the jurisdiction of the Indian Association and the Métis Association. For both political and ideological reasons, it was decided that neither was acceptable; hence the creation of the independent 'society'.
5. NCSA is also unique in its method of obtaining most of its clients. These are initially located in jail or at remand centres. NCSA staff ask these people whether they need help; if they say that they do, the staff provides the necessary services.
6. This was done in the Fauteux Report. See Department of Justice, Committee to Inquire into the Principles and Procedures Followed in the Remission Service of the Department of Justice of Canada, *Report* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1956).
7. Legal Aid has a close liaison with NCSA. In fact, in the northern

regions of Alberta, NCSA takes most of the northern applications because Legal Aid does not have a representative, except at Peace River and Grande Prairie.

8. This strategy also seems to be used by Natives trying to establish other types of organizations.

5: Health and Social Services

Background

Health Services

The health of Alberta's Native people can be partially assessed by examining the province's incidence of disease and death rates. Compared to Alberta's entire provincial population, Indians suffer from substantially higher rates of tuberculosis, infectious and parasitic diseases, and diseases of the respiratory system. Data compiled by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) shows that accidents, poisoning and violence account for well over 33 per cent of all Indian deaths, compared to a 13 per cent death rate from these causes for the provincial population. The standardized death rate for the Indian population is more than double that of the whole provincial population: 16/1000 as compared to 7/1000 respectively.

According to the Constitution Act 1867, section 82 (7), the health of Canadians is under the care of provincial governments. However, the evolution and expansion of this area of responsibility has led to increasing participation by the federal government, which deals with health as affected either by disease or by infirmity. While the provinces pay for the major costs of their health programs, the federal government has replaced the municipalities in providing almost one-third of the public funds required for health care.

In Alberta, the provision of health services has evolved from local to provincial and federal levels. The federal government's first major intervention to be accepted by Alberta in the area of health was the Health Grants Program of 1948. This intervention came about as a result of increased public demands for health services and the inability of the provinces to provide funding for such services. The grants initially made by the federal government were directed towards specific health programs which were too costly for the provinces to handle alone; these included, for example, funding for hospital construction and mental health programs. The initial effect of this federal action, at a time when provincial health and social services were almost non-existent, was to increase budgetary allocations for provincial health programs, simply as a function of the federal government's cost-sharing programs.

Prior to the 1960s, the federal and provincial governments consulted each other primarily on matters involving joint financial arrangements. This was particularly true in the area of health and welfare. In the 1960s, however, with the introduction of comprehensive medical care, a second wave of provincial innovations in health policy took place. By 1963 Alberta had instituted a government-regulated, but privately owned, medical-insurance scheme. This move was a result partly of the doctors' strike in Saskatchewan in 1960 and partly of public demand for more and better health care. It represented a compromise between the medical profession and the insurance industry, on the one hand, and the realization, on the other, that the federal government's Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act would allow an expansion of health-care services at minimal cost to the provinces.

The final phase of the federal government's health-policy intervention was its introduction of the Medical Care Act. Once again, the federal government acted to stimulate and, in essence, to set policy for the provinces. Its initiative was supported by medical interest groups. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the federal government undertook to initiate programs in the provincial, as well as the national, interest. Later the federal government would change its role to one of leadership in these areas.

The national health-insurance program introduced in 1968 was based on the principle that Canadians were entitled to all medically required services offered by qualified medical practitioners. While participating provincial governments extended the scope of health services, they were also required to make their benefits comprehensive, portable between provinces, universally available, and publicly administered. On these terms, the provinces may or may not include certain additional services for their citizens. Methods of raising the provincial share of required revenues vary within the twelve jurisdictions concerned, that is, ten provinces, and the two Territories.[1]

Since the late 1960s, two major issues have evolved. Both centre on financial matters. The first is that only expensive health services are covered by federal programs. For example, in general, only physicians and surgeons practising in established hospitals are eligible for full payment. Less costly health-care services, such as those supplied by chiropractors and paramedics, are not fully covered under the existing program. The second issue arises from the fact that during the 1970s, social and health-care costs have risen quickly and dramatically. By the end of the 1970s, the annual cost of health care had escalated to over $600 per person and accounted for approximately 8 per cent of the gross national product. The federal government is now reassessing its contribution to this seemingly uncontrolled rise in health-care costs. More recently, the provinces have suggested that municipalities must begin to pay part of the cost of operating the hospitals that serve them. Nationalization and centralization were the solutions used in the 1950s and 1960s; decentralization may be the policy for the 1980s.

In the late 1970s, it became clear that federal budget restrictions were being imposed on both provincial programs and Native people. One result of this fiscal restraint was a formal change, made in 1978, by the Medical Services Branch of the Department of National Health and Welfare, in the policy relating to Native people. This policy shift meant that health services would no longer be provided free to all Indians. Those Indians who could afford it, would pay the health-insurance premium for dental work and medicine because Health and Welfare considered that the increased cost and volume of health services supplied to off-reserve Indians were eroding the funds available for other, more important programs administered by its Medical Services Branch. (It is important to emphasize here that the federal government *does not* acknowledge that health care is an aboriginal or treaty right.) There was also a strong opinion that Indian health problems could not be solved simply by hiring more medical staff. In 1979, however, Health and Welfare policy reverted to its earlier position. The administrators of the new policy began to recognize the need for local control and community development to help solve Native health problems.

Social Welfare Services

The federal government's involvement in social welfare programs has developed, over time, under jurisdictional changes brought about through constitutional amendments.[2] For example, amendments to the Constitution Act 1867, adopted in 1940, 1951 and 1964, allowed the federal government to take responsibility for areas such as unemployment insurance and old age benefits. In addition, the willingness of the federal government to fund conditional grants has propelled the provincial governments into the health-and-welfare area. The maintenance of the health and social welfare of Indians has been established as a federal mandate under the control of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.[3] However, in 1945, health services for Natives were turned over to the Department of National Health and Welfare and have remained there since.

Over the past forty years, health and social services have evolved from an essentially private matter to a universal service available to all Canadians. Today's social welfare programs span all three levels of government. Social assistance is primarily funded by the federal government, although the provinces play an integral role in the development and provision of welfare services. Administratively, there are three types of social service programs: exclusively federal programs; nation-wide programs cost-shared by the federal and all provincial governments; and province-specific programs cost-shared by the federal government and a particular provincial government. Early public assistance meant maintaining certain custodial institutions, usually at the local level, and the assistance was directed towards relieving the community of pauperism rather than providing help for individuals.

The federal government created and financed three social welfare programs that were to affect profoundly later provincial policies and programs: unemployment insurance (1941), family allowance (1944) and old age security (1951).[4] By the 1950s, Alberta had instituted a hospital-insurance program. The impetus for implementing such a policy seems to have stemmed from two factors: the Saskatchewan government had earlier introduced a similar program and had shown that its move was viewed as positive by the electorate, and the Alberta government's ideology supported such an action.

Prior to 1966, social assistance consisted of a patchwork of programs, and its recipients were identified on the basis of individual circumstances, such as being blind or veterans. Then, in 1966, after negotiating with the provincial governments, the federal government introduced the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP). The government's purpose was to develop one, general, co-ordinated plan that would comprehend, under a single framework, the various provincial social assistance programs. Both provincial governments and DIAND personnel supported the concept of the CAP. The provinces wanted the Plan because they thought that it would bring them more federal assistance, and DIAND officials wanted it because they believed that its adoption and the provincial involvement anticipated would result in improved welfare services for Natives.

Under the CAP, 50 per cent of a province's total costs in meeting the basic requirements of welfare-assistance cases is paid for by the federal government. The federal government pays the provincial government for services supplied, and the provinces provide financial and/or other forms of assistance to persons in need. Agencies operated by municipalities may be designated as provincially approved agencies, and the provinces receive payment for eligible costs incurred by approved agencies in providing welfare services to those in need. The provinces operate three major programs under the CAP: the Public Assistance Program, the Child Welfare Program and the Preventive Social Services Program.

Health-Related Policies

Although the megapolicy of DIAND in Indian-related health matters is now to achieve an improving level of health in Indian communities, in the past, commissions or committees such as the 1964 Royal Commission on Health Services, the 1970 Task Force on the Cost of Health Services, and federal health conferences dealing with employment issues have taken relatively small account of Indian health. Alberta's government has assumed that health services for Indians are solely a federal responsibility, since, for example, health-care-insurance premiums for the majority of registered Indians in Alberta are paid by the National Department of Health and Welfare. However, in 1972, Alberta implemented a policy of providing premium-free health-care insurance for all Alberta citizens over sixty-five years of age. Since then, the Department of National Health and Welfare has not paid premiums for Indian families in Alberta in which one member is over sixty-five.

The latest federal health policy was announced on 14 September 1979. This new policy differs from the previous policy in that it emphasizes issues which the federal government considers most highly significant for the immediate future. It has:

- Withdrawn guidelines for uninsured health benefits
- Established professional medical or dental judgement on fair and comparable standards as the criteria for health-services delivery
- Reaffirmed the historic roles of the federal and provincial governments in the provision of health services
- Promoted federal/provincial consultation and participation in the adminstration and delivery of health programs.

The federal government favours integrated health services, when practical, for Alberta's Treaty Indians. On the other hand, federal departmental regulations for Indians now specify residential requirements governing receipt of health benefits; they also determine what services should or should not be paid for, and from whom such services can be received. None of these regulations has been endorsed by federal legislation, and in the absence of such legislation, these decisions have often been taken unilaterally. Hospital services for Indians, like those of all other Albertans, are cost-shared by the federal and provincial governments under the national hospitalization plan. However, National Health and Welfare will not commit the federal government to providing any of the capital funds required to implement an integrated hospital service.

It is within the context of these general federal policies on health benefits, combined with existing provincial options, that yet another system of health services operates for Treaty Indians. While band membership is an individual matter, health and other welfare services have traditionally been provided on or near reservations. There is now no clear-cut delineation of who is, or is not, an Indian for health purposes or for the purpose of identifying the range of benefits to which a person is entitled. Under the terms of existing legislation, the Indian is often placed in a confusing dilemma. Indians, like other Canadians, are entitled to health benefits as a right, depending on conditions for universal eligibility in the various provinces. However, if a Treaty Indian remains on a reserve, he is provided primarily with paramedical health services; if he chooses to seek alternative care off the reservation, he must get permission even to incur transportation costs if these are required. Uncertainty about the ways in which regulations are established and enforced poses equal difficulties for health workers and precludes the adoption of uniform policy where provincial regulations vary.

The basic assumption made by the Alberta government in the matter of Health and Social Services is that health problems cannot be solved unless substantial changes occur in the basic conditions of Native people. The government also believes that most of the health problems suffered by Natives arise from lack of knowledge. It takes the position that major social problems of Native people are related to alcoholism, which affects employment and creates a need for social assistance, as well as for assistance with health-related programs.

It is clear that no single authority or organization has a central or influential position of responsibility for administering either provincial or federal health policies, and that there are no uniform regulations across Canada pertaining to Indian rights to health care. Whether an Indian is to receive medical or dental treatment and how much, has been left to the decision of officials of zone and regional medical services.[5] Important structural changes in the administrative format of health and welfare have been, and are, made by public servants without any general announcement or legislative review. This was particularly true during the 1960s and 1970s, when both the federal and provincial governments were preoccupied with structural changes in the administration of health-and-welfare programs. These changes related, among other matters, to cost-sharing agreements and control of health costs.

As health policies for Indians have evolved, consultation with persons for whom the services were intended has gone through various phases. Initially, these policies were enunciated unilaterally. One Indian leader has said, "No one bothers to ask the Indians. Their problems and needs are assessed without any enquiry about their opinions." Although Indian opinion is no longer ignored, it remains to be determined whether efforts to seek broader consultation with Native people have been effective or sufficient.[6]

Indians argue that a long-term health-care program must be established. This program, and all existing curative medical plans, must focus on educational, preventive, environmental and community-development programs. This means that a co-ordinated strategy must be implemented to cover all areas of community need in order to raise the standard and quality of living in Indian communities on or off reserves. The suggested program seems to fall in line with Alberta's health policy, although not necessarily with federal health policy. For example, the current jurisdiction of the Division of Medical Services is restricted by a narrow definition of what constitutes health; its strictures exclude, for instance, responsibility for environmental pollution, sanitation or housing. These crucial matters, which make an irreversible impact on human health, are the responsibility of DIAND.

Social Welfare Policies

There are a number of ways in which government has provided benefits to individuals and households in order to relieve poverty. These techniques involve the provision of services ranging from unemployment insurance to day care, work training and family counselling. Prior to 1927, the primary basis for providing social welfare was the notion of 'relief'. A means test was used to determine whether or not an individual or a family was eligible for this service. If a person or family was eligible, relief was provided through municipal and charitable organizations. However, in 1927, the federal government broke the policy of reliance on local resources by instituting the Old Age Pension Act. This provision of wide-scale social assistance was a central feature of the government's overall economic and social reconstruction plan. While federal officials were not generally interested in upgrading the health and welfare of Canadians, federal politicians had accepted the theory that increased social benefits would increase aggregate consumer demand. Hence, increased public spending in the area of health and welfare would result in a growth of Canada's economic system.

Under the CAP, while each province has its own set of rules for providing health-and-welfare assistance, current policies are based on the two concepts of relief of need and public insurance. When health services for Natives were turned over to the Department of National Health and Welfare in 1945, the concept of indigence was introduced. Today's social assistance programs also take into account the belief that people are eligible for special assistance if, for some specific reason, they are unable to work and have contracted with their employer(s) and/or the federal government to set aside money for this eventuality. Workers subsisting at a poverty level are not eligible. In 1973 the Orange Paper, a working paper on Social Security in Canada, reaffirmed this concept, when it pointed out that only 3 per cent of those citizens employed, yet living below the poverty line, were receiving special assistance. Alberta has experimented with a phasing-in program of income supplement, whereby welfare assistance is given to the province's lowest-paid workers and reduced by specified amounts as the workers' income increases. Only persons on welfare, however, qualify for the income supplement.

The fact that Alberta's population growth came through late-sponsored immigration has led to its government's belief in *collective* social responsibility, not of the local/municipal type, but at the provincial/federal level. Such social welfare programs are recognized as necessary by the Alberta government. One Minister, for example, maintained that "While the federal and provincial governments retain their autonomy, the problem that they are called upon to solve requires some form of joint action." The programs and policies adopted by the Alberta government in the area of health and welfare therefore reflect the federal government's goals in the same areas.[7] Alberta has based its anti-poverty programs on the policy of relief of need, and even though such relief may be considered a right of citizenship, benefits are not guaranteed, and in times of budgetary constraint, the criteria for eligibility are tightened up. The Alberta government views poverty as an individual's own fault. There may be a slight shift away from this notion as the employment rate increases with the development of industry in Alberta, and it becomes increasingly clear to the provincial government that the condition of certain groups, such as Native people, can be recognized as representing 'no fault' poverty. Until this new concept supplants an older entrenched notion, however, it cannot easily be implemented.

Until the mid 1960s, the Alberta government made the assumption that the bulk of the province's social assistance went to men heading households. By the mid-1970s, this notion was revised after data was produced which demonstrated that women heading households formed the majority of recipients of social assistance. The Alberta government, using the data recorded in the Blair Report, gave serious consideration to changing some of its social service programs and undertook to decentralize their structure. The reason for this change was that delegation of operational authority to community administrators was essential to create an integrated health service that would make maximum use of local knowledge, local concern and local resources of all kinds. What actually evolved, however, was a 'deconcentration' of services rather than their decentralization; that is, the facilities for the provision of services were dispersed, yet the decision-making and policy-creation processes remained in Edmonton.

Before the Alberta government took over the administration of social assistance from the province's municipal governments, the City of Calgary Social Department had strongly recommended, in the Wheeler-Warf Report of 1969, that the city set up a neighbourhood-information centre to provide decentralized, citizen-involved, social service. The city had accepted this recommendation, and during the next five years it developed a viable neighbourhood program in conjunction with other community social service organizations.[8] The provincial government, however, did not support this move, arguing that public assistance was not a social service. Moreover, it wanted to control provincial policy, as well as expenditures,[9] in case the federal government was about to implement its Orange Paper.

Alberta's policy on health and social services must be viewed in the larger national context. This has be true particularly since 1970, when the report of the Quebec Commission on Health and Social Welfare articulated a major restructuring and integration of the health-and-security system in Quebec. The report's major theme was, of course, the desirability of provincial control in this field, to be brought about by block funding.[10] This position was most forcefully stated by Quebec, but subsequent events showed that that province, along with Alberta and Prince Edward Island, took advantage of the possibility of provincial variations in the family-allowance program. By 1971, the federal government, without first consulting provincial governments, implemented major changes in the Unemployment Insurance Program. These two events heightened the sensitivity of Alberta's reaction to the 1973 Orange Paper.

Alberta's pre-1975, municipal, social service programs dealt with the employable population and provided social assistance, short-term counselling, and some employment retraining. The province dealt with the unemployable sector and provided only money. In arguing that social assistance programs should be centralized, the provincial government seemed to be opposing its own policy of decentralization.[11] It maintained, however, that this move towards centralization was only temporary and would be succeeded by decentralization once the restructuring of social service programs took place. The provincial government claimed that if it took over social services for Indians, they would be served by a political authority and an administrative headquarters much closer to them than are those on which they now depend. It believes, moreover, that it is more sensitive to Native needs and is better equipped to provide services to Native people than is the federal government. Recently, indeed, the provincial government has taken the position that its implementation of programs will be based on the objective assessment of their merits, and not on the availability of cost-sharing with the federal government.

Federal Health and Welfare Programs

DIAND provides welfare assistance only to status Indians, and does so through regional structures. For example, Indians who receive federal services in Edmonton come from eight reserves situated within a sixty-kilometre radius of that city. Approximately five hundred families receive help from the Edmonton office each year, and a similar number are serviced in Calgary. Life-skills programs, particularly, have been developed, as well as other programs, such as those that provide foster care and special low-interest mortgage plans.[12]

The Social Assistance Program

The Social Assistance Program (SAP) of DIAND provides assistance necessary for Native people to maintain health, safety and family unity.[13] SAP's general objective is to ensure that Indians have access to social services and benefits comparable to those available to other residents of the province or community in which they live. A circular issued by DIAND in 1964 states that that Department will adopt and follow provincial standards and regulations for the administration of financial assistance to Indians.[14] The need for assistance is defined as occurring for a variety of reasons and, more often than not, through no fault of Indians themselves.

SAP also aims to encourage the individual or family to be self-supporting and self-reliant to the extent that particular circumstances permit; to enable individuals and families to assume primary responsibility for managing their own affairs and participating fully in the life of the community; to nourish and develop individual and family strengths through making developmental social services available; to foster development of wholesome community life. This program is meant to be used, however, only if other income-maintenance programs are unavailable.[15] To this end it incorporates a needs-test principle which is costly to administer.

Provincial Health and Welfare Programs

Alberta's social service policy for Indians evolved from an assessment of the number and types of requests for assistance that the provincial government received from Indian people. The provincial government, considering its delivery system superior to that of the federal government, decided that it could deal better than DIAND with Indians' requests. It also realized, however, that unless it provided only selected social/health services, it would have to establish and maintain a new service and delivery system whenever a group of Indians requested a specific service. Its final decision was to provide the entire range of social services that merged with the policy it supported. Presently, Natives claim a disproportionate amount of social assistance compared to other groups in Alberta. In 1976, for example, although Natives made up less than 5 per cent of Edmonton's population, they were receiving over 20 per cent of the total social allowance payments for the city and accounted for well over 50 per cent of the child-welfare cases handled by the provincial Department of Social Services and Community Health.

Three separate provincial bodies are related to Alberta's health-and-welfare administration: Social Services and Community Health, Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission, and the Native Secretariat. The 1978 budget for all provincial social service and health-care programs was well in excess of $350 million and the department employed approximately eight thousand people.

Social Services & Community Health

Alberta's Department of Social Services and Community Health (SSCH) provides a wide range of welfare services to Albertans, including Natives, who are in need. The agreement between SSCH and DIAND has established that SSCH will assume administrative and funding responsibility for social assistance provided to Indians who are members of bands in Alberta (excluding residents of Northern Alberta[16]); who are living off reserves; who are in need; and who are endeavouring to establish themselves as self-supporting. Under the Canada Assistance Act, the Government of Alberta can recover from the Government of Canada 50 per cent of the cost of the assistance it provides.

Since SSCH deals with the health and welfare of all citizens of Alberta, few of its existing programs are directly relevant to the present study. Its most important branches are the Preventive Social Services Division that forms part of the provincial Health Services and the Social Services Division.

Preventive Social Services

Although the Alberta government took control of the province's social services in the early 1970s, the two major urban centres of Calgary and Edmonton continue to provide some social services. Both cities offer their residents a range of preventive services under a program called 'Preventive Social Services' (PSS), which is based on a cost-sharing agreement between the province and a particular municipality. By this agreement, the province funds 80 per cent of the deficit cost of the municipality's programs. PSS provides support to individuals, families and communities by anticipating the development of problem areas and providing programs to prevent family breakdown. Unfortunately, few of these programs have any substantial impact on Native people either because they provide few services for Natives, or because few Natives take advantage of the services offered.

The City of Edmonton, unlike Calgary, has several major private programs directly related to Native people or servicing a great number of Native people.[17] These programs are heavily subsidized by the provincial government. One of them, the Family Life Improvement Program (FLIP), which is run by Native Counselling Services of Alberta (NCSA), tries to provide assistance to people experiencing family difficulties. This program evolved from practical long-term experience with urban Native people. It attempts to help these people develop a positive self-image and learn to participate fully in urban life. The program stresses that a good, harmonious family relationship is necessary for people to survive and succeed in urban centres. A second program, offered by the Urban Skills Centre, is directed to Native women living in the city. Its major focus is to provide participants with basic urban life skills.[18] Urban skills, such as how to use a public telephone, how to cope with bus routes, and home management, are taught.

Two child-care centres in Edmonton serve a large number of Native families. N'Gawee Day Care Centre, designed for Native children, is operated by Canative Housing Corporations, while the Bissell Child Care Centre provides day-care for low-income parents.

The Boyle Street Community Services Co-Op emerged from an attempt made in the early 1970s to consolidate a number of agencies serving low-income, inner-city residents. However, after three years of failure to integrate the various programs and continual argument over jurisdictional control, the federation was dissolved, and only the Boyle Street centre remained. It does not provide services *per se*, but rather tries to ensure that other existing services are, in fact, being delivered as intended.

The City of Calgary Preventive Social Services had a budget of over $14 million for 1979, but most of its programs, such as Homemakers, Uncles/Aunts at Large, and Social Planning, are not directly relevant to Native people. Other programs, such as neighbourhood services, special projects, juvenile probation and family- and community-counselling services[19] are of benefit to Natives, but only in a most indirect manner. More directly relevant to the needs of urban Natives, however, is Calgary's Single Men's Hostel, which is funded by Alberta Social Services and Community Health. This hostel provides housing, meals and other emergency social services, which may include medical treatment and clothing, for 400 people. It also functions as a social assistance service to approximately eight hundred single men living in Calgary.

Social Services Division

Alberta's Social Services Division (SSD) is responsible for providing certain legislated services to the public. Of the four major types of legislated services, three are delivered through Social Services' district offices; these are financial assistance to persons in need, child welfare, and maintenance payments. Presently, there are over forty SSD district offices in Alberta, each serving a specific geographic area. The fourth type of service is provided by the province's Métis Development Branch.

Alberta's major public assistance programs that relate to Native people focus on providing social allowances and social and extended health services.[20] These programs are directed to people who do not earn enough to meet their basic needs, or who have no personal source of income.[21] Public assistance benefits are administered on a needs-test basis. The program's benefits are available to those Natives who are living off reserve, are considered employable, and who wish to find employment in order to establish themselves in an urban area. Natives who do not fall within these general criteria are publicly assisted by DIAND.

The Government of Alberta also has a program to provide social allowances to meet the financial needs of Treaty Indians who cannot immediately benefit from the services provided by DIAND. Although Alberta has never signed an agreement with the federal government, under Part II of the CAP, which would provide for the extension of provincial welfare services to Indians, the province has had to become involved in paying a social allowance to Treaty Indians, since most of these people who live off reserves are usually in financial need.

Moreover, for many of these off-reserve Indians, the services of DIAND are not immediately available.

Child Welfare Branch

Alberta's Child Welfare Branch operates several programs relevant to urban Natives: Native Counselling Services, the Voice of Alberta Native Women (VANW),[22] the family and resource section, and the residential resources section; the last-named includes foster care. A specific program established in the period of 1975–77 focused on making Native families aware of the need for foster homes for Native children. It was created because many Native children had been placed in non-Native foster homes, and Natives were exerting pressure on the government to have Native children cared for by Native families. When more than 150 Native homes had been approved to offer foster care, the project was ended.

The Branch also acts as a liaison agent for various workers from other departments. In addition, during 1979, Child Welfare funded various community programs to the total amount of about half a million dollars. Many specific programs are of short duration because they are inaugurated to meet a specific need arising at a particular time; a year later, however, the problem may have changed or ceased to exist, or the program may no longer be applicable to the people it was created to serve.

The legislation governing child care protects all Canadian children. Alberta's Department of Child Welfare is legally obliged to care for all children who are being neglected in any way. However, the provincial government tries to recoup its costs relating to Native children from the federal government. Alberta provides Child-welfare services to Treaty Indian families, and the federal government reimburses the province for the cost of providing those services. Normally, if an Indian agent or an Indian welfare aide cannot handle a child-welfare situation at the local level, he will request the intervention of a provincial social worker, who may or may not take action, depending on the situation. When action is taken, it involves treating Indian children under the existing provincial child-welfare services.

Child Welfare officials consider that Natives can deal better with Natives than can non-Natives. They are also convinced that once Natives receive the support and training they need, they will be able to administer Native-directed programs successfully. The Department of Social Services has also found that in its area of administration, women are more deeply involved and committed than men. Child Welfare, too, has found that when it identifies objectives that must be met by the Native community, it is usually women who become involved. As a result, women tend to create and maintain the services in this area.

Métis Development Branch

Alberta's Métis Development Branch works with settlement councils to promote social, economic and educational growth of the residents in the eight Métis settlements located outside urban areas. The Minister in charge is, in a sense, holding in trust the monies set aside for Métis in the Métis Trust Account. Under the Métis Settlement Act, the government has also retained a certain amount of Crown land on which it gives the Métis residency rights. The Act is over forty years old, and even the provincial government recognizes that it is antiquated. However, there has been no attempt to amend the Act because of current issues concerning the number of colonies set aside for Métis and the ownership of the subsurface rights on the land in question.

Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission

The Alberta Alcoholism Foundation (AAF) was created in 1951. The provincial government assumed responsibility for this body in 1965. In 1970, AAF became the Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission (AADAC). The Commission is organized on a regional basis, but its central administrative office is in Edmonton. Its activities include the treatment, as well as prevention, of alcohol and drug abuse. AADAC holds the view that the solution to addiction lies in public awareness and understanding of the nature of abuse, as well as in treatment programs that respond to individual human needs and differences.

Initially the program relating to alcoholism focused on treatment and rehabilitation, which addresses the condition of alcoholism after it has become a problem. Recognizing this, the program's administrators have now added a preventive component. Still, the present treatment of alcoholism consists in dealing with it as an isolated symptom.

Alberta's cities and towns have some form of AADAC services available to them. The smaller towns have developed preventive programs, while larger centres have both preventive programs and institutional treatment centres. Because AADAC believed that its goals could be achieved more effectively if it established a broad base of community involvement and support, in 1977, it created Funded Agencies as a separate division, to facilitate the handling of nearly forty community agencies and projects throughout the Province of Alberta. Since 1971, AADAC's expenditures on Native/alcohol-related projects, have escalated dramatically, chiefly outside Edmonton and Calgary. In 1971, for example, its expenditures for this purpose were nil; in 1976 such expenditures had risen to $1.5 million and, again, to over $3 million in 1980.[23]

Alcohol-related programs in Alberta serve both in-patients and out-patients. Prior to the mid-1970s, the program's goal was to provide a milieu in which an alcoholic could sober up before being released into the community. At present, AADAC acts on the theory that not only is a drying-out period necessary, but that, beyond this, the individual needs to receive some form of counselling therapy and to be put in touch with other private or public social agencies.

AADAC has also taken the position, since the mid-1970s, that different communities know what their particular problems are and have a better idea than an outside agency of how to bring about a solution. Interested individuals within various communities form a society and then approach AADAC for technical and financial assistance. While detoxification centres have, until recently, provided treatment or cures, there is now a belief that public education, out-patient treatment and counselling are also needed. Most of the AADAC-related centres, therefore, have three components: the curative measure of treatment and the preventive measures of increasing education and public awareness concerning alcohol and drug abuse. Some treatment centres are more concerned with one dimension than another. Different centres obtain funding from different sources. Some are totally funded by AADAC, some by a combination of federal-provincial cost-sharing arrangements, and still others by two provinces. For example, the Walter Lin Thorpe Recovery Centre at Lloydminster, on the Alberta-Saskatchewan border, is funded by both provincial governments. The criterion for admission to a program is that a person be suffering from a drug/alcohol problem. Some of these programs are staffed entirely by Natives, others by a mixture of non-Natives, Métis and Indians, others entirely by non-Natives. Some of the programs are based in correctional institutions or Native Friendship Centres, while others work on their own. While no race-related criteria determine admission to any of these programs, some serve only Native clients because of their location or because, over time, the clientèle has become wholly Native.

These programs are also diverse in structure. Some are highly structured, while others are much more flexible. More important, perhaps, are the goals of the various treatment centres. Some have a short-term goal: drying a client out. Others are directed towards the long-term goals of helping clients to integrate into the larger society. Short-term programs that last for only three to five days make referrals to other agencies to meet clients' longer-term needs. Longer-term programs, lasting from four to twelve weeks, focus on providing clients with training or extensive counselling, as well as drying them out.[24] These latter programs are in the minority, although the new thrust of the 1980s is to merge the two types of programs.

The Native Secretariat

The Native Secretariat (NS) is considered a policy-making body with three specific activities: to establish land entitlements, to provide services to Indians on reserves, and to fund Native-related projects. The goal of NS, in carrying out these activities, is to ensure that all of Alberta's Native people have the opportunity to participate as full residents of the province and to enjoy the same rights, privileges and obligations as those accorded to non-Native Albertans. NS takes the position that Alberta is part of the multicultural system that gives legitimacy to Native culture. It also believes that social and economic advancement must occur simultaneously if Natives are to enter the mainstream of Alberta's society. It believes, as well, that as Natives develop self-reliance and self-sufficiency, the NS will be phased out.

In order to achieve this development, the NS attempts to:

- Act as a catalyst between Natives and the provincial government
- Monitor programs endorsed, funded or sponsored by government and affecting Native people
- Assist departments to plan innovative programs that aid Native people.

In terms of policy development, the liaison efforts of the NS go largely unnoticed because such NS activities as influence policy development in other departments are informal and unstructured. Many of the Secretariat's present efforts are directed towards funding specific projects requested by registered Native organizations: $1.2 million of the NS total budget of $1.8 million is spent to provide grants.

Relations between Natives and the NS have seriously deteriorated over the past few years. Indeed, in 1980, Alberta's chiefs decided to suspend all dealings with the Secretariat. They took this decision because they thought that the province should dissolve the NS and allow Natives to deal directly with the Ministers of appropriate departments. The Métis Association, on the other hand, did not adopt this position.

Disparate Views

Within the area of health and social development, the disparate views held by federal, provincial and Indian authorities are becoming increasingly obvious. There is a growing realization--not an acceptance--of the fact that the Indian concept of Indian-federal government relations is much different from the provincial government's concept. Indians hold the federal government wholly responsible for their welfare, while the provincial government does not consider that the rights of Indians are compromised or jeopardized if it delivers services paid for by the federal government. The provincial government takes the position that its agencies are fully adequate to deliver health and welfare services to its Native people: SSCH employs a number of social workers, who are experts, and funds a variety of social agencies which deal with a wide range of social problems; in addition, the provincial authorities maintain, they can be more flexible in their delivery system than can the federal government.[25] Finally, while the Alberta government acknowledges the right of the federal government to administer health and welfare programs on the reserves, it complains that once the Indian moves to an urban centre, access to federal programs becomes a serious problem, and the province is left to supply the deficiency of health and welfare services.

Notes

1. In the mid-1960s, the federal government's Health Branch, Department of National Health and Welfare, implemented a training course at Hobbema, Alberta, to produce community-health workers in order to overcome the resistance of Indians to modern health knowledge. The procedure was to train the Indians by sensitivity methods to recognize needs and think up actions they themselves could take to meet those needs. When Departmental Public Health Nurses were put in charge of the workers, role conflict developed, and the program was phased out.
2. There have been some exceptions to this process. For example, the family-allowance program, which allowed the federal government to make payments directly to individuals, was established without constitutional amendment.
3. Treaty Six (covering Central Alberta) specifically states that "a medicine chest shall be kept at the house of each Indian agent for use and benefit of the Indians at the direction of such agent".
4. Between 1937 and 1943, the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations and the House of Commons Advisory Committee on Post-War Reconstruction examined Canada's social welfare system and concluded that existing programs and policies were inadequate, and that the federal and provincial governments ought to provide an increasing number of programs.
5. Indians argue that attempts to standardize federal health policy have been made without the participation of Indian people, and some have gone so far as to protest that those policy changes have been made in violation of the legal and constitutional principles of Canadian federalism.
6. The National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) established a Health Liaison program in 1976. This program was conceived essentially as a go-between, or information facilitator between the NIB and the

Medical Services Branch of National Health and Welfare. The program was changed somewhat in 1977 and is presently called the 'Health Development Program'.

7. The reader should consult the "Green Book" proposals made at the Dominion-Provincial conference on reconstruction in 1945. The reader should also consult, on this topic, L. Panitch (ed.), *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977); S. Kaliski (ed.), *Canadian Economic Policy Since the War* (Ottawa: Canadian Trade Committee, 1965); and M.A. Chandler and W.M. Chandler, *Public Policy and Provincial Politics* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979).
8. In H. Philip Hepwort, "Personal Social Services in Canada: A Review", the Canadian Council on Social Development also recommended to the federal government that there should be community control of social services.
9. In 1975 the Deputy Minister from Alberta became intimately involved in the welfare policy being developed by the federal government.
10. The Quebec suggestion was that the province should receive an unconditional federal grant in lieu of social service financing. The grant was not even to be contingent on the money being used for social services.
11. There is no doubt that the provincial government's funding in all areas is becoming more and more centralized. The decentralization issue focuses on the delivery systems, not the funding, of services.
12. It is estimated that over the past fifteen years, fewer than 100 Natives have been helped under this low-interest mortgage plan.
13. The assistance is very similar to that provided by the provincial government. The estimate for SAP's budget for the 1979–80 fiscal year is $135 million.
14. Some differences do exist. For example, DIAND officials visit

Indians in hospitals, and each such patient receives an unfixed allowance—it amounted to $43 per month in 1979—and, on release, transportation back to a reserve if he or she wishes.

15. Under Section 91 of the Constitution Act 1867, the Government of Canada has a general responsibility for Indians. Section 88 of the Indian Act provides that, subject to the terms of any treaty or other Act of Parliament, all provincial laws of general application should apply to Indians in their province of residence, except to the extent that those laws are inconsistent with the Indian Act. It is, therefore, as a matter of policy, rather than as a statutory or treaty obligation, that the Government of Canada provides certain social services to Registered Indians and, each year, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs has asked Parliament, through Appropriation Acts, for the authority and resources to provide such benefits and services. It is expected that Indians living off reserves will be provided assistance from the responsible municipal or provincial welfare authorities on the same basis as other citizens.
16. That is, those living north of an administrative boundary that divides Alberta into a northern area, which lies north of Edmonton, and a southern area.
17. In addition, if the head of a family unit eligible for social assistance is Indian, funding responsibility for the assistance issued will be assumed by DIAND; if the head of the family unit is non-Indian, funding responsibility resides with the provincial Department of Social Services and Community Health.
18. Participants are given full transportation and day care.
19. This is a private organization with a substantial amount of money coming from government grants.
20. In 1978 the Mother's allowance was ended after nearly fifty years of the program's operation. The allowance had been provided for the benefit of children whose fathers were deceased, in jail or in a

mental hospital. The province had paid benefits for children up to the age of eighteen. However, when social allowances were introduced in 1961, families were no longer eligible for the earlier service, and the program was phased out.

21. Benefits include the provision of goods, clothing, housing, utilities and a personal allowance. Medical and other special benefits may be provided if warranted by individual circumstances.

22. In 1976 the Department of Child Welfare established a pilot project with the VANW. According to the Alberta government's definition, the program was very successful. Since that time, numerous programs have been funded by Child Welfare and carried out by the VANW.

23. In addition, $225 000 is provided on a cost-sharing basis through the National Native Alcohol Abuse Program. The total federal budget for Native alcohol programs in Alberta is $1 million.

24. It is estimated that about one hundred to one hundred and twenty Natives are released from AADAC programs each month.

25. The provincial government, for example, argues that if it delivered the social welfare/health system, the local band councils would have a great deal more influence than they have at present concerning the creation and delivery of certain programs.

Background

A Statistics Canada survey entitled *Household Facilities and Equipment 1977* shows that 97 per cent of houses in Alberta had electricity, sewage disposal, indoor plumbing and running water. The comparable figures for Indians' houses in Alberta were 94, 48 and 54 per cent respectively. The same survey indicated that 37 per cent of Indians' houses were in need of major repairs or replacement. Overcrowding is another major problem for Indians living on reserves, and one that may be linked to the current levels of health of Indian people. Thirty-nine per cent of their present housing units accommodate two *or more* families. It is expected that there will be an even greater demand for housing on reserves during the next decade. As a result of this increased demand, overcrowding will continue to be a major social problem for Indians. Table 6c1 shows that while electricity, sewage disposal, indoor plumbing and running water are more readily available in urban centres than in rural areas, the index of overcrowding and inadequate facilities is highest in urban areas.

The forecast of increased urbanization of Alberta's Native population is supported to some degree by the data presented in Table 6c2. This

Table 6:1 Housing Conditions on Alberta's Indian Reserves by Geographic Classification, 1977[a]

Band Location by Type of Area	*Inadequate Housing Per 100 Family Units*[b]	*Percentage of Housing*				*Overcrowded Housing per 100 Family Units*[c]
		Electricity	*Sewage Disposal*	*Indoor Plumbing*	*Water*	
All Areas	37	94	48	48	54	39
Urban Areas[d]	39	96	67	67	68	41
Rural Areas[e]	32	92	20	20	35	38
Remote Areas[f]	36	87	7	7	7	26
All Provincial Housing[g]	—[h]	99	97	98	98	—

Notes

a. Statistics Canada, *Household Facilities and Equipment, 1977* (cat. no. 64-202).

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Community Services Branch, "Housing Needs Analysis Survey, 1977" (Ottawa, January 1979).

b. Estimated by dividing the number of occupied houses that need replacement and those, both vacant and occupied, that need major repairs by the total number of houses (except for vacant houses needing replacement).

c. Estimated by dividing the number of houses that are overcrowded or that require additions by the total number of family units.

d. Areas contiguous with an urban centre with a population of 10 000 and over, and semi-urban areas within 55 kilometres of an urban centre and served by good all-weather roads.

e. Other areas with reasonable road access.

f. Other areas lacking reasonable road access.

g. From annual Statistics Canada *Housing Facilities and Equipment* survey.

h. Symbol -- indicates that data is not available.

Table 6:2 [a] Number of Bands by Type of Location[b] in Canada and Regions,[c] 1977

Regions[c]	*Total*	*Urban*	*Semi-Urban*	*Rural*	*Remote*
Atlantic	29	6	10	13	—
Quebec	39	5	15	5	14
Ontario	115	8	21	52	34
Manitoba	57	1	5	26	25
Saskatchewan	68	2	13	43	10
Alberta	41	3	12	19	7
On reserve[d]		19.3%	37.9%	33.4%	9.4%
Off reserve[d]		16.3%	36.6%	42.2%	4.9%
British Columbia	194	23	41	77	53
Mackenzie	16	—	1	7	8
Yukon	14	1	—	—	13
Total Canada	573	49	118	242	164

Notes

a. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program "Registered Indian Population by Sex and Residence, Canada and Regions, 1977" (Ottawa: Program Reference Centre, 1980).

b. Urban bands own significant land in or contiguous to an urban centre (that is, a municipality with a population of 10 000 or more and with economic characteristics of an urban centre).

Semi-urban bands are located within commuting distance (about 55 kilometres) of nearest urban centre, and have good all-weather roads available.

Rural bands are located more than 55 kilometres from the nearest urban centre, but within the Canada Land Inventory (CLI) Boundaries, and are served by at least one road.

Remote bands include all bands not located within the CLI Boundaries and all other bands within CLI boundaries, but not served by any road.

c. Regions correspond to the administrative regions of the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program.

d. Percentage distribution of registered-Indian population.

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table shows the proximity of Indian bands to urban areas and the high rate of off-reserve residence of rural bands.

Canada's federal government has played a major role in the field of housing through its implementation of taxes and the decisions made by a federal agency, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC).[1] Canada's income-tax legislation provides an incentive for Canadians to become home owners, but in order to benefit from the regulations, would-be home owners must be able to meet the costs of purchasing and maintaining a house or of saving for it through the Registered Home Owners' Savings Program (RHOSP). CMHC was set up to administer the National Housing Act and to insure mortgage loans made by approved lenders. Until the late 1960s, the program administered by CMHC had two objectives: to improve Canada's housing standards and to reduce fluctuation in residential construction. A related implicit goal was to encourage urban renewal. In the 1970s CMHC began to focus on the construction of social housing and on programs to aid middle-income workers to buy a house.[2]

CMHC has consistently promoted the single detached house for Canadian home owners. However, by 1971, apartment units made up nearly one-third of Canada's housing units. While home ownership remains a dominant force in the country, rental is a fact of life for well over a third of Canada's urban population; yet it has only recently been accepted as affording an appropriate life-style for Canadians.

The federal government's White Paper of 1969, *Proposals for Tax Reform*, dropped tax incentives for construction industries; these incentives were not restored until 1976. It was the potential cyclical fluctuation, which affects housing starts, that partially prompted the Government of Alberta to become more involved in the housing market. It decided to provide subsidies for both home buyers and house builders.

During the 1960s, Alberta, like many other provinces, created a public agency, the Alberta Housing Corporation (AHC), as a counterpart of CMHC. Its main purposes were to channel federal funds into the province and to develop specific housing programs. The Alberta Housing Act was passed in the mid-1960s, in an attempt to deal with the ever-increasing number of Albertans whose income was insufficient to provide them with adequate housing. The Act permitted the creation of AHC as a Crown corporation in 1967 and gave the new Corporation responsibility for all provincial housing programs. The general policy of the AHC is to provide appropriate housing at a reasonable cost for the province's lower- and middle-income groups, senior citizens, and other special groups. The Alberta Housing Act allows AHC to build or buy housing for rental or for sale, provide mortgage funds, and generally control the ownership and operation of the housing market. AHC's capital budget was $30 million in 1967; it had increased to $600 million by 1980. The objectives of both the federal and the provincial program are varied and diffuse: both levels of government aim, for example, to improve deteriorating neighbourhoods, to assist poor people to secure housing, and to encourage potential home buyers to purchase a house.

Municipal governments also play an important part in housing policies in that they are usually responsible for land-use planning. They have some influence over the type of housing built, its construction standards, and its costs: the last, through decisions governing taxation and zoning matters.

Policy

Canada has had a tradition of strengthening mortgage and other financial markets in order to ensure an adequate flow of monies to residential construction. The economic goals of increased efficiency and overall growth have, until recently, determined the country's major housing policy. To achieve this end, the major thrust of federal--and in some cases, provincial--policy has been to lower mortgage rates, thereby creating a strong mortgage market and promoting home ownership. Until the late 1960s, the policy of both federal and provincial governments was to assist the urbanization process. Mortgage insurance and special federal programs all helped to create the massive suburban developments of the 1950s and 1960s. It was not until the early 1970s that the Government of Alberta explicitly articulated the policy of decentralization.

During the late 1960s, however, the assisted 'free market' theory came increasingly under attack. From 1970 to the present, Canada still relied on the 'free market' policy, but a series of 'direct intercession' programs was also used to provide housing for those who could not afford to buy on the private market. The formation of the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development of 1969 was the beginning of actual changes in the federal housing policy. These changes, in turn, had an effect on the Alberta government's policy.

Housing policy in Alberta seems to be concerned with co-ordinating planning, financing and production aspects of housing construction so that housing can be placed on the market as it is required. However, programs directly related to securing housing for low-income families are integrated only to a small extent with other programs of income redistribution, although provincial housing-policy makers are very much aware of the effect of the overall economy on housing starts. An attempt has been made to take account of this effect on their housing programs.

The general policy of the Alberta Department of Housing and Public Works (HPW) has four components:

- To develop and administer housing programs that co-ordinate with the province's economic, social and urban-growth policies
- To increase the affordability of housing
- To increase the supply of housing so that all Alberta residents have an opportunity to purchase or rent reasonable accommodation
- To maintain the livability of older communities and the existing housing stock.

HPW, along with two Crown corporations, AHC and Alberta Housing and Mortgage Corporation (AHMC), handles all of the provincial government's housing programs. The remaining housing activity is carried on by private industry, the federal government, and one Native corporation. Figure 6:1 shows the types of home tenure common in the province.

Figure 6:1 Common Types of Home Tenure in Alberta

		Home Tenure	
		Rent	*Ownership*
Subsidies:	Deep		
	Shallow		

Programs

AHC is engaged in the building, as well as the delivery system, of social housing. AHMC's goal is to make mortgage loans, while AHC's programs focus on so-called 'deep' subsidies to assist with their housing needs those Albertans earning the lowest third of incomes in the province. It is not anticipated that the subsidies provided under this plan will eventually be withdrawn. On the other hand, AHMC provided 'shallow' subsidies for Albertans earning low and middle incomes. As incomes in this group increase, AHMC's mortgage rates and subsidies decrease proportionately, and the subsidies are expected to terminate over time.

In recent years, the Alberta government broadened its categories for assistance and its portfolio of housing programs in response to increasing demand for housing. Until the late 1960s, the seriousness of housing problems was generally reckoned in physical and social terms: for example, the number of persons living in substandard or crowded accommodations. However, the new focus of attention in housing policy is on the increasing problem of affordability: that is, the problem of securing adequate accommodation at a reasonable price relative to income.

Alberta's public-housing program, now called the community-housing program, is the single most important provincial program that assists lower-income renter households to obtain accommodation. In 1979 there were (or were under construction) 5072 community-housing units in Alberta. The community-housing program is intended to provide rental housing for low-income families unable to secure adequate and affordable housing on the public market. It is jointly funded by CMHC and AHC at the respective rate of 90 per cent and 10 per cent. These funds are used to provide the highest housing subsidies in the province in order to assist the lowest-income sector.

The operating deficits of the community-housing program are shared by CMHC, AHC and the municipality involved, at the respective rates of

50/40/10 per cent. The program's projects are administered by local housing authorities established by the Alberta Minister of Housing. These local authorities must assess the eligibility of clients. A maximum score of 100 is broken down into seven addends: family income, for example, is assessed within a range of zero to thirty points and number of dependents within a range of zero to twenty-four points. The scale is weighted so that large families paying high rents are more likely to gain admission to community-housing programs than are smaller families.

Prior to 1977, tenants' rents were calculated as a proportion of their income. However, administrative problems and a new bookkeeping procedure changed this arrangement: now all tenants, except for those on social assistance, are charged a flat 30 per cent of their *adjusted* family income. In the same year, the income-review period was reduced from two years to one year. All tenants hold a month-to-month lease.

The data show a wide divergence between the apparent need for low-income assisted-rental housing in Alberta and the low demand for community housing. Several factors seem to explain this phenomenon: the existence of other government-assisted housing programs; the rent-scale adjustment to 30 per cent of income; ineligibility of certain categories of tenants; the concentration of types of tenants; the nature, type and location of units available. A major problem of this program seems to lie in the fact that a large segment of the low-income population is ineligible for community housing.[3] A second problem seems to relate to the location of community-housing units: most are in the fringe/suburban areas of Alberta's towns and cities.

Natives are eligible for financial help from the federal government to purchase off-reserve houses. The federal program helps to provide housing for Indians in order to ease the process of urbanization and adaptation to the larger community. It also reflects a view that home ownership is likely to make citizens more responsible and thus help them to integrate into the larger society in a more positive fashion. The program provides loans based on the income bracket of the applicant. The full amount of these loans may be forgiven at a rate of 10 per cent per year over ten years, depending on the income of the applicant. The maximum loan provided is $12 000.

The Canative Housing Corporation (CHC) was founded in 1971 because a number of Native people wished to address the problems of Native housing, particularly for those Natives with large families. Concern over this matter was roused by the task-force report produced in that year by the director of CHMC's Department of Policy and Planning. The problem defined by the report was that Natives were effectively excluded from obtaining housing in urban areas because of their generally low incomes and the lack of three- (or more) bedroom units on the housing market. As a result of this report, five urban-housing organizations were created across Canada. Under the terms of the original agreement between CHC and CMHC, their urban-housing program, funded under section 5 of the National Housing Grants Act, was to provide subsidized housing to poor and/or large families of Native ancestry. The assisted-housing program remained in place from 1972 to 1977; during the major funding period of 1971 to 1973, CHC received money from both the federal and provincial governments. By 1974 CHC had purchased 115 dwelling units. Two years later, however, CMHC cancelled its funding.

When CMHC provided subsidies, CHC's policy was to accept *only* large Native families. (CHC's definition of 'Native' included status and non-status Indians, and Métis.) Since these subsidies have been removed, large Native families cannot afford CHC housing, and at present 60 per cent of the occupants of CHC housing are Native single-parent families, and over 90 per cent are on welfare.

Two other programs form part of Alberta's housing program. The first is the Transitional Housing Program, which is the shelter component of Edmonton and Calgary Residential Services (ECRS). The purpose of the Transitional Housing Program is to provide housing to low-income employable families who move from isolated northern communities to higher-employment centres to find work. One official pointed out: "Native families in the North, who are assimilating into the expanding work force, are at a disadvantage if they must compete on the commerical market for housing."

In order to be eligible for transitional housing, families must be approved as clients of ECRS by officials of the Advanced Education and Manpower program. Priority for acceptance into ECRS is accorded to low-income families who are willing and able to participate in job training, and who will make an effort to adjust to the wage economy and integrate into urban life. To remain in transitional housing, residents must meet their house payments, maintain their dwelling in good order, and continue to hold a job or to participate in job training. At present, this program operates only in 'employment-opportunity' centres, such as Fort McMurray, Grand Prairie and Peace River. It provides dwellings, initially, on a rental basis: rents are set at 25 per cent of family income. Families who have lived in their dwelling for one year and have demonstrated their ability to maintain it, may be eligible to purchase it. A second body, Rural and Native Housing Programs, focuses on providing housing for natives living in rural areas. A 'rural area' is defined as a centre of less than 2500 people.

Since the 1960s, Métis and non-status Indians have put increasing pressure on CMHC to develop special housing projects for Natives.[4] In the early 1970s, Native delegations approached CMHC for funds for an emergency Winter Warmth Program. At this time, Natives were able to persuade CHMC to contribute $802 000 to the program for its first year. The next year, Native people met with CMHC in two seminars to further define their housing needs, and later that year, the Native Council of Canada (NCC) lobbied the Minister of Urban Affairs. The thrust of the

NCC's brief was that the Native housing situation was moving toward a crisis. The brief also pointed out that other socio-economic programs were doomed to failure unless the housing issue was addressed. The NCC argued that only the federal government had the resources, in terms of funds and personnel, to address the problem successfully.

On the basis of section 40 of the National Housing Act, the Minister created the Rural and Native Housing Branch (RNH) in 1974. The Branch's general policy was to strengthen the application of the NHA in a way that would address the housing conditions of poor people in rural areas and small centres. In order to be eligible, a community must form an open non-profit organization for developing a housing proposal and also set up a local housing authority to be responsible for managing rental accommodation. The federal government also involved the provincial government in the program, since, under section 40 of the NHA, CMHC is authorized to build houses as long as its total commitment is not more than 75 per cent of the cost. Any person or government can provide the remaining 25 per cent.

Before a Native housing corporation or co-operative can build houses, the province in which it is to build must have a section-40 agreement with CMHC to participate in the construction of the homes. Moreover, a tripartite committee must be formed by the province, CMHC, and a representative of the Native people.[5] Under RNH, the project must first be approved by the local branch of RNH and then by the CMHC regional office. RNH receives permission to proceed *only* after it has applied to these two levels of administration. The RNH branch has no direct contact with the organization's regional offices, and thus influences policy only indirectly. Since RNH is not involved in the delivery of houses, it advises CMHC, and the latter's regional offices assign the contracts for actual construction. From 1974 to 1979, 467 homes were completed and 161 were put under construction.

Conclusions

Alternative housing subsidization in large urban areas of Alberta is limited by two factors:

- The federal subsidy program[6] applies only to towns of fewer than 2500 people.
- Provincial subsidies are available only when title to the housing is held by the province.

Native housing corporations do not receive any government funding, with the exception of an occasional Canada Works Grant or Student Works Grant that will provide funds to cover the labour involved in the maintenance of the rental units.

The housing programs of today are still based on the principle that the government will loan money to assist Native people to meet home-building costs. This policy has been ineffectual because Native people have low incomes or no income at all and thus are unable to augment what funds the government might make available. For example, a recent study made in Edmonton showed that nearly three-quarters of the Indians living there were unemployed. When the short-lived joint DIAND/NIB working group reassessed the federal government's housing program in 1977, the new policy agreed on was to provide on-reserve housing; it did not include housing funds for urban Natives.

Notes

1. The extent of the activities of CMHC is indicated by the fact that in 1975 CMHC authorized loans totalling more than $1.6 billion, and its contributions and subsidies amounted to more than $250 million.
2. See National Housing Act, RSC 1970, chap. N-10, as amended.
3. Single persons, for example, are not eligible for community housing.

4. Later in the 1970s, DIAND proposed to transfer financial responsibility for housing on the reserves to CMHC. Under this proposal, CMHC would provide mortgage monies to band officials who would have the authority to use land as collateral and to repay mortgages with band funds. (See Canada. Draft memorandum to Cabinet by Minister of Indian Affairs and Minister of Urban Affairs, "Housing on Indian Reserves and Designated Indian and Inuit Settlements", 22 January 1975.)
5. Any one omission means that the program will not be enacted, as happened with New Brunswick and British Columbia.
6. National Housing Act, RCS 1970, chap N-10, as amended ss. 43-44 *(b)*.

7: Social and Political Organizations

Background

Native political organizations in Alberta have come full circle since their emergence in the 1920s. During the initial stages of their existence, Native organizations were very active in pursuing political and legal issues. During the 1940s and 1950s, however, they began to retrench and did not actively enter the political arena. But events during the 1960s began to alert Natives that decisions with immediate and long-term implications were being made about them. In 1965 the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) appointed a regional Indian advisory council, as well as a national Indians' council, to provide government with an Indian perspective on specific proposals. By 1968, however, the council was phased out of existence. At the same time, the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) was allowed to take over the operation of some federal community-development programs on an experimental basis. Perhaps the real turning point for politicization of Indian organizations was the introduction of the federal White Paper of 1969 and the Nishga decision of 1973. These two events, more than any other, have rekindled in Natives the flames of doubt and suspicion of government and have propelled them into the politico-legal arena.

One of the consequences of the events just mentioned was the restructuring of IAA and its re-emergence as a potent Native political force. By the end of 1972, the IAA, like other provincial Indian associations, had retained a number of experts to research and support its various claims. It also found itself the recipient of a number of government grants and contracts that made independence very difficult:

> . . . each of the three provincial Indian Associations on the Prairies . . . had annual operating budgets of more than a million dollars; their leaders headed programs to provide community development, health liaison, communications, sports and recreation, economic development liaison . . . they published newspapers, ran fleets of lease automobiles . . . and they dispensed generous salaries and expense accounts.[1]

Further changes in IAA's sources of funding have allowed it to remain in operation. Whether or not it will be able to establish closer contacts with the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) remains to be seen. Later, Indians in Alberta urged the IAA not to support the NIB on the constitutional issue, but to support the National Council of Chiefs (NCC). The chiefs in Alberta, particularly the Treaty-8 chiefs, believe that the deal made between the federal and provincial governments concerning the Constitution will allow the provincial government to have a say in defining treaty and aboriginal rights. They also believe that the same agreement recognizes the rights of non-status Indians and Métis. The Alberta Indians consider that the NCC should be the Indians' main policy-making agency, and that if it were, the NIB would then become the lobbying arm of the NCC.

Policy

The general policy of Native organizations has been to try to establish Indian control of Indian Affairs. Members believe that Natives should have an Indian government with exclusive legislative, executive and administrative jurisdiction over Indian lands, resources and people within its territory. Relative to other Indian organizations in Canada, the IAA has made the greatest strides toward the realization of this principle. However, the implementation of such a policy has generally been one of reaction rather than one of initiative. It is only since the 1970s that Native organizations have tended to take the initiative on various issues. They have also argued vociferously for the adoption of some affirmative action programs rather than the strategy of moral suasion usually used by provincial governments.

The issues of concern for Native organizations have varied over time. Education was their paramount concern in the 1950s. During the 1960s, their chief interest was the role of DIAND; in the 1970s, treaty and aboriginal rights took pride of place. At the beginning of the 1980s, the issues of Indian sovereignty and constitutional talks were beginning to dominate Native activities. The policy of Indian organizations also explicitly recognizes the moral necessity for maintaining Indian culture. Even though the concept of Indian culture is vague and amorphous and has not been well articulated by any of the existing Indian organizations, it remains a viable force which drives and gives direction to those organizations.

Issues of concern to registered Indians may sometimes have no direct consequence for non-registered Indians and Métis. For example, issues involving the patriation of the Constitution, establishing environmentally safe ground or protection of treaty rights differ in significance to different Native groups. Issues more relevant to non-registered Indians tend to centre on the problem of civil rights. In the early 1980s, the IAA directed much of its effort to dealing with the patriation of the Constitution and Native land claims in Northern Alberta.

Programs

In the mid-1960s, Canada's federal government implemented a community development (CD) program[2] in the hope that the efforts of Indians would be co-ordinated with those of the government to improve social, cultural and economic conditions on *the reserves*. The administrators of the CD program explicitly stated that as a general principle, it was neither desirable nor practical to abolish reserves. They hoped, however, that the program would prepare Indians to accept more responsibility, improve their social and economic status and their health, and bring Indian communities to economic and social parity with neighbouring non-Indian communities.

This program was important in that it began to make Native people aware of their plight and gave them some means of undertaking their own social and economic programs. Some people have suggested that the vociferous response of Natives in opposing the federal government's 1969 White Paper was a result of the CD program. To be sure, the program was established for reserve Indians, yet its results clearly affected Natives who left their reserves and eventually settled in urban areas.

The major political organizations for Natives in Alberta are the Métis Association and the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA). Both have head offices in Edmonton. These organizations were incorporated in the 1970s. Their official goal is to lobby in support of various Native groups and to help those groups achieve their ends, whatever they may be. It is important to note, however, that while both the Métis Association and the IAA are urban based, few of the issues they deal with relate directly to the urbanization of Native people. A great deal of the time, money and energy of both these organizations is devoted to rurally based issues such as Native land claims, treaty agreements, and provision of services on reserves.

Indian organizations were initially entirely self-funded, yet they were heavily controlled by DIAND. By the early 1960s, the IAA found itself struggling for survival. It also found itself in charge of a number of locally based rural projects. The policy of direct involvement meant that the IAA was active in researching a problem, as well as in intervening as a third party, if any negotiations were to take place between Indians and outside groups, such as the federal and provincial governments or private industry. Over the past twenty years, IAA officials found that this strategy was becoming less viable because of the increase in problems needing to be addressed and the high costs associated with direct involvement. In 1970, however, the Secretary of State began to provide funding for the political and cultural development of Indians and other Natives. Among the recipients of this funding were the NIB, friendship centres, communications activities, and organizations of social and cultural development. Today, funding for Indian organizations in Alberta is provided by: DIAND (54%); Secretary of State (23%); Province of Alberta (13%); other sources (10%).

In 1979 the IAA changed its policy of direct intervention and now, unless specifically asked, it will not act as an intervenor for Indian bands with specific concerns to take up with the provincial and/or federal government. Alberta's forty-two bands, as well as other Indian organizations, deal directly with the concerned level of government on pertinent matters. The new role of IAA will be one of a support rather than one of active intervention. This change came about partly as a direct result of the provincial government's request that the IAA develop a comprehensive policy on provincial relations. The IAA has made it clear that it would arbitrate and, if necessary, intervene if Indian treaty rights are placed in jeopardy.

The Voice of Alberta Native Women's Society (VANW) is sometimes viewed as the female counterpart of the IAA. However, VANW is different from the IAA in that, while it is a province-wide association, it includes status and non-status Indians in its membership. Using money it receives from its members, private donations and the Secretary of State, VANW holds workshops, becomes involved in public issues, and motivates Native women to participate in lobbying for Native interests. For example, VANW organized the first Native women's conference in Edmonton in 1968. Participants marched to the provincial legislature and lobbied Premier Manning into sending a telegram on their behalf to Prime Minister Pearson, protesting proposals to transfer federal responsibility for Indian health to the provinces.[3] Their current concerns focus on section 12 (1)*(b)* of the Indian Act.

The Métis Association of Alberta has approximately eighty local offices throughout the province, although it is largely based in northern Alberta. While its major recent activity has been the documentation of claims against the provincial government, it also makes suggestions for government policy. For example, the Alberta Housing Corporation received information from the Métis Association about proposed changes in the Rural and Native Housing Program. The Métis have divided the province into six administrative zones, and each local administration attempts to co-ordinate activities within its zone. All zones then report to the administrative centre in Edmonton.[4] Funds to operate the Association are derived from bingo and other games of chance.[5] For specific programs, the Association obtains funds from the Secretary of State and/or the Native Secretariat.

The Métis also argue for local government of Alberta's eight Métis settlements. The provincial government, at this time, is unwilling to provide local government to settlements until the Métis' legal suits against that government are settled. In addition, the provincial government has refused to extend any new services to the Métis colonies while the legal action continues.

The Native Secretariat, formerly called the 'Indian-Métis Liaison Group', views its role as one of assisting Natives. The Secretariat believes that Natives should make the decisions relating to their own affairs, and that DIAND should only help the Natives to achieve their own goals. As a result of this view, it has moved almost totally to individual project funding. Each request is decided on the basis of criteria that the Native Secretariat has established.

Each application submitted to the NS is treated as independent, and the submissions compete for funds on an almost equal basis. This policy has been the subject of a great deal of Indian hostility on the ground that it can lead to duplications of projects that create high administrative costs and vulnerability to political influences. The policy developed by the NS was to implement a program that would ensure its receptivity and responsiveness to new ideas.

Alberta Culture considers that its stance in relation to the general perception of loss of cultural heritage and identity among Natives is primarily reactive: Alberta Culture will, however, provide funding to any organization which is incorporated under the provincial Societies Act to deliver projects designed to preserve, transmit or teach some cultural component including, but not limited to, crafts, pageants and language programs. Alberta Culture funds four types of programs:[6]

- Major long-term (three-year) jointly funded projects such as Alberta Native Communications Society (ANCS) and Indian News Media
- Short-term programs (one day to less than one year). These include Friendship Centres, Native Awareness Week, presenting two-day workshops, and providing equipment for senior citizens' facilities.
- Language-support programs (at a rate, in 1979, of $22 per student in a language program offering at least fifty hours of instruction.[7]

- Special funding for development of innate 'special' talents of individuals.

The goal of the Alberta Native Communications Society is to foster and promote communications among the province's various government departments, agencies, and authorities and its Native people, through radio, television, the press and field contacts.[8] It also engages in a small amount of research to determine the needs of Native people. A third goal is to advance knowledge and stimulate interest in Native traditions.[9]

The Alberta Native Communications Society publishes *The Native People*. This paper emphasizes Indian self-sufficiency and Indian separatism, and discusses events that happen within the Indian communities.

> *The Native People* is inclined to see Indians as apart from other Canadians and is intent on bringing Indians closer together, rather than closer to White society. It is heavily oriented toward active Indian Politics, verbally attacking government agencies.[10]

The policy of this paper contrasts sharply with that of the second major Native newspaper published in Southern Alberta, *Kainai News*. While the former is extreme in its 'seperationist' views, *Kainai News*. is highly 'integrationist', seeking an effective compromise with non-Native Canadians in the matters of their own freedom and their co-operation with non-Natives. However, many similarities exist in the position of Alberta's Native media, which agree in redefining the 'Indian problem' as a 'non-Native problem', and in pointing out the superiority of traditional Indian values and techniques over those of non-Indians, as well as maintaining that Indian culture and 'blood' (or biological heritage) is crucial to being a real Indian.

The federal Migrating Native People's Program was introduced in 1972 to assist Natives to adjust to an urban environment. This program has provided core funding for Native Friendship Centres which, in turn, serve a variety of purposes, depending on the needs of the various communities. The centres serve as a clearing-house for newly arrived Natives, provide a focal point for Native cultural activities and, in some cases, provide some social services.

The Native Friendship Centres (NFC's) are members of the Alberta Native Friendship Centres Association which, in turn, is part of the National Association of Friendship Centres. The aims and objectives of the NFC are to facilitate understanding and educational opportunities for Native people, in order to bring them into the social and economic structure of the community. The NFC provides liaison between Native people and government, industry and various agencies. At the same time, its various units try to offer Natives experiences in traditional culture and social activities for young and old. In Calgary, for example, three people staff a referral service which helps nearly 200 Natives a month. The Centre in Edmonton administers the Native Benevolent Foundation, which provides financial assistance to Natives entering the city. This Centre operates on grants from the Secretary of State, while many of its specific programs are funded by the Native Secretariat; the Province of Alberta, the United Way Community Fund and the Canada Works Program provide further funding.[11] The two major centres offer from sixty to eighty programs a year, some short and some long: the Indian Princess Pageant, for instance, is a one-day project, while the Little Beaver Program goes on all year round. Each program is funded separately through the Native Secretariat.[12]

Programs that provide referral services are not new to the Native Friendship Centres of Alberta. One of the first was offered by the Calgary Urban Treaty Indian Alliance (CUTIA). In 1970, Natives in

Calgary began to take note of the influx of Native people to urban centres. Discussions on this development continued until 1973, when the federal government provided funding for such a program for one year.[13] The CUTIA program provided a range of services administered by Indians for Indians moving to Calgary: for example, it offered job orientation and placement, home-finding services, cultural and recreational activities, and counselling.[14] When federal funding was withdrawn in 1974, Natives staged a sit-in at the Calgary offices of DIAND. The federal government has offered four explanations of its refusal to support the program further: it has blamed the provincial government's refusal to share costs; it has maintained that CUTIA's services duplicated those provided by provincial and private agencies; it has argued that Indians should not be treated differently from other Canadians moving into an urban area; it has explained that if DIAND funded CUTIA's project in Calgary, it would have to support corresponding programs in all Canada's major urban centres.

A new referral system was initiated by the Alberta government in 1979. This program, funded by the Native Secretariat, operates through the Friendship Centres in four urban centres in the province. The system is not involved with program delivery, since it is intended only to create a bridge between Native people requiring certain services and those services as they exist in a given urban centre.

The Calgary Urban Indian Youth Organization provides another referral service, as well as offering both an educational and a cultural program. In other urban centres, referral programs have also been initiated through 'soft core' funding, but have generally not met with success. These programs had not been in existence long enough at the time of writing for the author to make an adequate evaluation of their results.

Conclusions

The majority of organizations to which Natives belong are brotherhoods, councils, federations or societies which require that their members be of Native origin. These organizations have relied, and continue to rely, on government funds to operate and thus are dependent on government policies and programs. However, they have used a variety of tactics, some legal and some extra-legal, in an attempt to influence government policy. At times they have had to establish alliances with non-Native groups in order to bring greater pressure to bear on government.

Provincial government officials who deal with Natives acknowledged a serious degree of confusion about the status of the IAA and the Métis Association. Officials were not clear on whether or not they wanted to be, or should be, recognized as bodies representative of Native people or simply as special-interest or pressure groups. This lack of clear understanding continues to create a problem for both Native people and government officials.

Notes

1. N. Dyck, "The Politics of Special Status: Indian Associations and the Administration of Indian Affairs" in J. Dahlie and T. Fernando (ed.), *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Methuen, 1981), p. 283.
2. In 1971–72 the government phased out the CD programs in Alberta because the IAA was charged with misappropriation of funds. This charge was later dismissed.
3. The action of VANW prompted an internal memo at DIAND, which stated that the group and other similar Indian organizations were too political, and that VANW admitted non-status Indians to its ranks. For these reasons, no support should be given to the group either at the provincial or at the national level.
4. The one-dollar membership fee is given to the central office in Edmonton to provide an education fund that Métis can draw on.
5. Associations must obtain a license from the province to operate

bingo and other games of chance. In January 1979, the Attorney General published rules and regulations which included a rule that bingo funds could not be used to pay workers in an association or to maintain an office.

6. ANCS has a budget of $365 000 per year; Indian News Media receives over $150 000 per year.
7. Alberta accepts French, German and Cree as languages to be taught as credit courses in its senior high schools.
8. In 1979 the provincial government refused to commit funds for ANCS proposed use of the ANIK-B Satellite. As a result, the federal government refused to become involved in funding this project, which was then cancelled.
9. Alberta Culture provides funds to further these goals.
10. J. Price, *Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1978), pp. 183-84.
11. Alberta is the only province in Canada that has no clear-cut policy on supporting or funding the Native Friendship Centres.
12. Until 1978, the Centres received funds for their annual operating budget from the Province of Alberta. Now each program is funded separately. This new procedure was adopted in an attempt to establish a rational basis for, and introduce the notion of, accountability into Native programs.
13. The federal government requested that the provincial government share the cost of the project, but the provincial government refused, stating that this was a federal responsibility.
14. On record are nearly forty letters of support from other social agencies in Calgary supporting CUTIA's services and demonstrating no overlap with services provided by agencies.

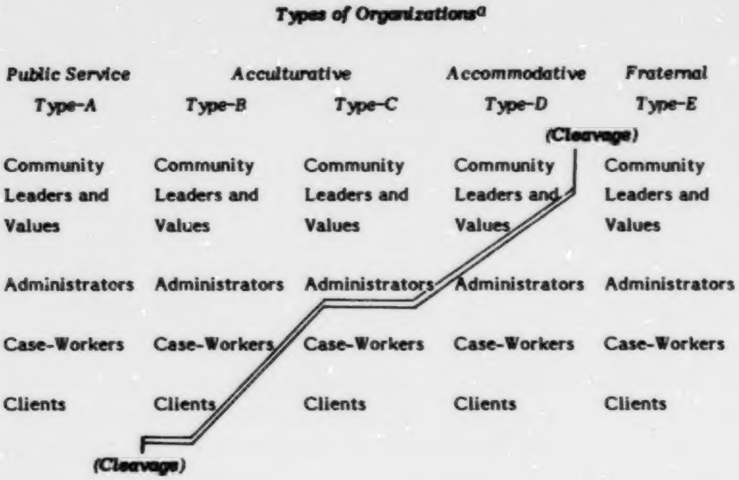
8: Conclusions

Types of Native-Oriented Organizations

There are four types of organizations dealing with Natives in Alberta, each with a unique structure and policy orientation. These organizations and their policies differ, depending on whether they are controlled by the federal or provincial government or by Natives. For example, matters such as direct taxation and education are considered provincial concerns, whereas justice and housing are joint federal/provincial concerns. A large number of Native- (or special client-) programs developed in Alberta over the past twenty years were created solely by the federal government's intervention in a particular field, which meant that the province could introduce them at minimum cost.

The types of organizations that deal with Native people are represented in Figure 8:1.[1] This figure shows that each type of Native-related organization is composed of community leaders, who establish the organization's values, and of administrators, case-workers and clients. It also illustrates that socio-cultural cleavages can occur at various levels of the different organizations. The levels identified represent basic role divisions within the organizational setting.

Figure 8:1 Structure and Cleavages within and among Organizations



Types of Organizations[a]

Public Service	*Acculturative*		*Accommodative*	*Fraternal*
Type-A	*Type-B*	*Type-C*	*Type-D*	*Type-E*
Community Leaders and Values	Community Leaders and Values	Community Leaders and Values	Community Leaders and Values	Community Leaders and Values
Administrators	Administrators	Administrators	Administrators	Administrators
Case-Workers	Case-Workers	Case-Workers	Case-Workers	Case-Workers
Clients	Clients	Clients	Clients	Clients

Note

a. An example of each type of organization would be: A, Calgary Board of Education; B, Northland School Division; C, ECRS, Court workers program; D, Native Outreach, and E, the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA).

'Public service' organizations deal primarily with specific segments of the general public and are designed to provide a single, functionally specific service, such as justice or education. These organizations are set up to offer certain minimal levels of service to the general public and to encourage individuals to participate in society. 'Acculturative service' organizations are set up to promote Native assimilation into the dominant society. These agencies include Alberta's Apprenticeship Branch and post-secondary educational institutions. 'Accommodative service' organizations reverse the policy of acculturative organizations. Agencies such as the Court Workers' Programs have modified their operating rules and procedures to acknowledge the background and culture of Natives. However, these agencies continue to work with public and acculturative service organizations and to serve a clientèle composed of middle-class Euro-Canadians whose value system they represent. 'Fraternal organizations' have a policy of maintaining traditional Native culture and retarding the assimilation of Natives into the dominant Canadian value system. They provide positions for a small Native élite, promote a revitalization of Native culture and society, and attempt to provide the broad range of social support services necessary to help Natives lead their own style of life.

Type-A, or Public service, organizations included in Figure 8:1 represent those that could be called 'Euro-Canadian, middle-class' groups. In this type of organization there is congruency between the societal values of community leaders and the perceptions of administrators, case-workers and clients. At the other end of the continuum are the fraternal organizations comprised totally of Natives and reflecting Native values. In these organizations there is congruency between Native societal values, administrators, case-workers and clients. Most Native people have no real understanding of how type-A organizations operate, how and to what ends they might be used, or what career considerations are likely to exist for clients, staff, administrators or leaders of these organizations. Of course, the same statements might be made of individuals in Euro-Canadian middle-class society as they relate to type-E organizations. However, type-E organizations deliver far fewer of the resources or services required by Natives living in the larger Canadian society than type-A organizations offer to their clientèle.

As Figure 8:1 also illustrates, cleavages can exist between the components of organizations. Type-B organizations, for instance, demonstrate a cleavage between their clients and the other types of organizations. This is typical of an organization in which administrators and staff have difficulty in organizing and processing clients. in addition, clients find it difficult to relate to staff and administrators of the organizations, as well as to determine how their activities can be useful to clients. Type-C organizations are those in which some case-workers and clients are Native, but administrators and community leaders are not. Administrators and case-workers in these organizations use their different perspective independently to justify their positions and programs. In type-D organizations, a cleavage exists between community leaders and the rest of the organizational structure. This type of organization also has great difficulty in securing legitimacy and/or funding for its programs.

Both the federal and provincial governments deal with Natives on a day-to-day basis. However, each level of government articulates its policy in a different manner.[2] The federal government believes that Canadian society is a community of communities, several of which consist of Native people. The efforts of federal organizations providing services to Natives tend to be holistic and integrative. On the other hand, the Alberta government's beliefs reflect the concept of communities of individuals. Under this provincial government, organizations dealing with Natives belong to type A and type D, but there are no type-A programs directed specifically to Natives. Type-D organizations, for reasons to be discussed, are often appended, on a temporary basis, to type-A organizations. In the end, provincial services to individual Native clients are functionally segmented or specialized and are not co-ordinated. This state of affairs is disadvantageous to the transient, unemployed and uneducated or under-educated recipients, among whom are many urban Native people.[3] The federal use of provincial type-A organizations to service federal Native clients living off reserves and the provincial government's use of accommodative type-D organizations compounds problems of institutional discontinuity. In other words, Natives who leave their reserve and move to a city, relinquish client status in type-B organizations and become clients of type-A or type-D organizations. Staff and administrators of type-B and type-D organizations have been unable to integrate and co-ordinate their services with those provided by type-A organizations for their Native clients. Thus, type-A organizations, which reflect Alberta's lack of specific policies or programs directed to Natives, serve as a wedge that separates federally sponsored, rural-based, service organizations that deal specifically with Natives from urban-based service organizations that deal with Natives. In short, type-A organizations, interposed between type-B and type-D organizations, prevent the consolidation and integration of social services for urban Natives. This arrangement seems to be based on the constitutional division of powers between federal and provincial governments that has existed throughout Canadian history.

The link between the federal government and rural Native organizations effectively prevents the latter from withdrawing from federal areas of jurisdiction and entering those of provincial jurisdiction. As a consequence, rural-based Native organizations seem to be unable to remove the 'wedge' of type-A organizations and link themselves to type-B and type-D (or to type-E and type-D) organizations in order to integrate the services received by their urban members. The constitutional division of jurisdiction reinforces the connection between type-B and type-E organizations and inhibits connections between type-E and type-D organizations; it also serves to reinforce the type-A 'wedge' that exists between type-E and type-D organizations.

Urban Natives, it appears, have established a pattern of dual residence. Most Natives seem to be unable to establish permanent urban residence and unwilling to remain as permanent rural residents. Their dual-residency pattern has been created, in part, by the organizations they come into contact with, as well as by the links between those organizations. In the past, the combination of subsistence living and social support tended to keep Natives in rural poverty and detached from the general pattern of the Canadian economy. However, since World War II, the extent of social services available to all Canadian citizens has allowed Natives to move to urban centres without releasing them from their rural-based pauperism.

It is our contention that the policies of the institutions we have described, as well as their relationship to one another, have been critical factors in many Natives' lack of success in adapting to urban life. As the urbanization of Natives proceeded, the legitimacy of both public service and accultrative service organizations came under increasing pressure. With growing numbers of urbanizing, yet transient, Natives, public service organizations experienced a disproportionate decrease in effectiveness, as well as a disproportionate increase in costs of providing services. Administrators of these programs found that they were faced with a problem of ineffectiveness that did not respond to an increase in resources expended. For example, administrators of the school system found that despite an increased budget, the drop-out rates for Indian students did not change. Similarly, one judge, speaking of his experience in the courts lamented, "No matter what you did for them, you'd find them back in jail the next week." Increased expenditures, additional personnel or expanded facilities did not seem to bring about a lower rate of recividism. The problem of escalating costs accompanying decreased effectiveness plagued administrators. Problems of disparity of impact and of generating a standardized solution were looming in the foreground. Finally, problems of simplifying the administration of existing legitimate programs faced administrators.[4] The effect of all these problems was to decrease the legitimacy of programs and organizations.[5]

The specialized service organizations were faced with a legitimacy problem, as were the public service organizations: those Natives in need of specialized services were clearly not receiving them. Nevertheless, middle management, that is, those administrators responsible for the internal administration of the organizations, as well as for the day-to-day flow of funds, personnel and clientèle in both public service and acculturative service organizations, did respond to the problem. Even though these problems of legitimacy did not actually threaten their budgets, they did intensify public scrutiny of their funding and internal administration, reduce managerial discretion, and make the management of day-to-day operations more difficult. Nevertheless, the crisis of legitimacy all this created *did* not become a political issue.

A solution employed by middle management in both public service and acculturative service organizations was to fund projects proposed by accommodative service organizations that addressed 'problem' minorities.[6] Some existing Native fraternal organizations, such as the Indian Association of Alberta, were chosen to run these programs. Sometimes the promise of funding reanimated a Native-oriented service organization. In yet other cases, such as the Native Outreach Program, service organizations created a separate branch to deal with a specific type of client. Whatever their origins, accommodative service organizations tended to reduce doubts about the legitimacy of existing service organizations. Their programs had the effect of identifying and reclassifying problem clients, as distinct from the typical clients usually handled by the service organizations. By merely monitoring the problem and adjusting the statistics to distinguish between typical and problem clients, public service organizations were able to demonstrate that the effectiveness and cost of their operations had not diminished.[7]

The accommodative service organizations appear to suffer the uncertainty and problems of legitimacy avoided by the public service and acculturative service organizations. Accommodative organizations are generally small, independent, voluntary associations that exist for only a few years without undergoing major transformations in program and/or staffing. Their instability can be traced, in part, to the nature of financial support that these agencies receive. In most instances, the major part of their budget is derived from grants from government public service organizations. These grants are generally earmarked for projects designed to provide a specific service for a limited period of time of, say, one to three years. Accommodative service organizations nevertheless have their uses. They have registered, screened and referred groups of problem clients. In this way they have been able to reduce some of the uncertainty created by these groups by forecasting, or even regulating the flow of such clients into programs run by public service or acculturative organizations. Furthermore, as independent organizations, accommodative service agencies were free to propose special projects designed specifically for particular groups of 'problem' clients. These special programs could be used to rationalize the high costs of processing abnormal clients. In addition, public service organizations could justify making special treatment available for some, but not all, clients, while acculturative service organizations could justify relaxing entry and performance standards for those in special programs. Essentially, by offering a composite program, middle-level administrators of service organizations shifted some of the responsibility for 'problem' clients onto the shoulders of upper-level administrators. The composite program accommodated values prevailing in the larger society and, at the same time, the different sociological and/or ethnic values of 'problem'-client groups. Accommodative service organizations could attract increasing numbers of clients without seriously affecting the standards of acculturative organizations or the cost and effectiveness of public service organizations.

In summary, the accommodative service organizations have achieved only marginal success. They have, however, solved many of the legitimacy problems of public service and acculturative service organizations. The accommodative service organizations achieve funding by attracting large numbers of clients; they do this by orienting their programs to some extent to Native culture. However, placement then becomes a problem. The result is that while a large number of Natives enter these accommodative programs, few leave as independent citizens unless they return to the reserve. This means that many Natives continue to be perpetual clients to the agencies.[8]

Organizational Links and Policy

Policy advances used in dealing with Natives generally follow either a cyclical or a linear pattern. The cyclical type alternates between one option and another. Housing policy is illustrative of this type. This policy pattern seems to be adopted by public policy makers when they are attempting to cope with the results of a problem rather than to eliminate its underlying causes. The linear type follows a pattern of unlimited expansion or of an ever-narrowing focus. For example, a linear policy of education may be intended to serve an increasing number of Native students; it may be directed first to primary students and then go on, stage by stage, to include secondary, post-secondary, pre-school and adult students. On the other hand, a linear policy process may be directed at fewer and fewer recipients, as in the field of health care.

The federal government has a legislative mandate to deal with Natives through its Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). This organization has produced an administrative structure linking policy and practice, which includes both a surveillance method and a formalization procedure that produce written records and directives. As a result, specialization by occupation and by departments can occur. Administrators of federal programs are concerned with *consistency* of policy and programs over time and locale. They also try, albeit with limited success, to integrate the work of the various departments that deal with Native people. This attempt requires, however, that before they can participate, clients meet the criteria of the programs offered, and not the programs the criteria of the clients.

The Government of Alberta also has a certain legislative mandate to deal with Natives, but it does *not* have a legal mandate to deal with a particular client group within the broader category. The provincal administrative structure that has emerged from the acceptance of this responsibility is marked by complexity, consistency, and discontinuity.[9] In addition, it does not recognize the needs, interests or values of either special clients, such as Native groups, or of particular funding agencies. The result is that Natives are dealt with *en masse*, and their special status or special rights are not recognized. Provincial organizations attempting to deal with Native clients are controlled by administrators who are given departmental guidance concerning special clients or interest groups. Case-workers and practitioners, who have the closest contact with Natives, tend to become separated from administrators. Furthermore, the most important policy makers in the field of Native affairs are not likely to consult makers of funding policy from other departments when Native policy is formed; nor are they likely to consult policy makers from other organizations, agencies or departments. The policy of any such groups, which is related to federal government Native policy, tends to deepen cleavages between the views of those groups and the federal government. Nevertheless, The Alberta government has, until recently, implemented and funded programs that emerged from federal policy.[10]

Native people in Alberta have established a third level of organizations that relate to Natives. These organizations have no legislative mandate. While their programs, like those of the provincial government, are marked by complexity and consistency, their administrators try to ensure some degree of continuity, in spite of the fact that they lack appropriate administrative apparatus to achieve their goals effectively. Native organizations are most effective when they operate under federal jurisdiction. However, they seem unable to use their rural-based organizational strength to remove Natives who are clients of service organizations from provincial to federal jurisdiction.

Government policies have limited the power of urban-based Native organizations. The federal government, through the Secretary of State, has funded such urban Native organizations as the Friendship Centres. This federal agency views Canada as a community of communities and, in keeping with this concept, has sought to strengthen Canadian society by sponsoring ethnic and other cultural organizations. Its policy does not extend, however, to assuming responsibility for the continued existence of non-chartered ethnic groups.

Where social support is an issue, particularly with regard to urbanizing Natives, the federal government has limited its commitment to funding of limited duration. Alberta's governments have also been more prone to acknowledge communal rights of such groups as Hutterites, Mennonites and Métis in rural areas rather than in cities or towns. Urban-based funding for Native organizations has generally matched federal short-term grants for specific projects or has been funnelled indirectly through grants for programs established by accommodative organizations.

Because of the indirect pattern of project funding, urban Native leaders have occupied positions in both accommodative organizations and Native organizations. Superficially, this array of organizations would appear to hold the promise of institutional completeness, with its attendant reinforcement of 'in-group' contact and community cohesiveness. However, lacking resources and vested rights, urban Native leaders have been unable to use this organizational base to establish an urban Native community oriented to Native values. The accommodative organizations employing Native leaders retain an ultimate orientation towards the dominant values of public service organizations and continue to lack the integration and continuity required for effective service.[11] The organization of services for urbanizing Natives is both effective in drawing Natives into the cities and ineffective in achieving their integration into urban society. The maintenance of this system of urbanization rests on the pauperism of Natives, both rural and urban, and the extensive use of subcontracting among organizations to provide support for Natives living in urban areas.

Constitutional issues, provincial and federal government policies, and the stance taken by Native organizations toward these and other issues have combined to make the reduction of pauperism unlikely. The federal government has, to a certain extent, acknowledged the legality of its treaty obligations to provide subsistence for Indians living on reserves, and to extend this right to support, for a limited time, to Indians moving to the city. Because rural, Native, fraternal organizations have become stronger than their urban-based counterparts, they have opposed any action that might limit governmental obligations to residents of Indian reserves or Métis colonies. Lobbying by Natives, combined with governments' current commitments to constitutional guarantees, has reinforced an historical policy of government support in providing rural Natives with means of subsistence.

The various organizations that provide social services to Natives in the city on a subcontracting basis are unlikely to be integrated under one administrative structure. There is also a division between policy making for service organizations, on the one hand, and the actual processing of clients, on the other, that appears to frustrate the coherence and continuity necessary for the organizations to operate effectively. At least two forms of subcontracting can be distinguished: one, in which the federal government, through DIAND, has entered into a fee-for-service arrangement with provincial or municipal public service organizations, and a second, in which these public service organizations have commissioned accommodative organizations to provide supplementary assistance for such clients as Natives. The federal grants for Native fraternal organizations are channelled through the Secretary of State, and they tend to follow the second form. Subcontracting between DIAND and public service organizations is grounded in the fee-for-service policy. Both subcontracting systems interrupt the connection between policy and practice in different ways.

Currently the Alberta government is attempting to rationalize Indian/government relations. While the federal government has already introduced a planning, programming and budgeting process that entails management by objectives and cost/benefit analysis, Alberta is only now in the process of implementing such a policy procedure.[12] The initial reaction of Indians to the Alberta government's new Native policy is that that policy was developed without substantial Indian input. Regardless of the nature of the policy, the very fact that Natives were not invited to participate in its formation has exacerbated the negative reaction of Native people. Secondly, Natives see the fact that Alberta is negotiating with the federal government as an attempt to rupture the traditional agreement that the federal government is totally responsible for Canadian Indians.

Natives consider that the adoption of Alberta's new policy would effectively create two groups of Indians--those living on reserve and those living off reserve--and two administrations to deal with them. This division would imply that off-reserve Indians are no longer the responsibility of the federal government. Secondly, Natives believe that this policy's creation of two factions within the Indian community would be used to destroy a united Indian position. They argue that residence off or on reserve should not be a factor in determining the province's relation or contribution to Native people.

Over the past two decades, there has been a great deal of shifting of responsibilities of departments within Alberta's government in an attempt to establish which departments have the right to define and set Native policy and to determine what relationships should be established, maintained or severed. Prior to 1970, when an expenditure policy was implemented, it was constructed to benefit individuals. Changes in Alberta's economic and demographic structure have created new needs and problems which are reflected in a shift from a regulative mega-policy to one of expenditure. As a result, Native policy reflects a disjointed procedure of making changes in a few policy details over a long period of time.

We found that agencies or organizations dealing with Native people, regardless of their types, were unable to approach the 'Indian problem' holistically. The general strategy of these organizations has been to reduce the problem to a number of particular components and create or assign sub-units to deal with each of these. A lack, or confusion, of goals and objectives is an obvious feature of Native policy and program development.

Notes

1. I wish to thank Bill Reeves for his suggestions, ideas and penetrating analysis of some of the issues presented in this section.

2. A department's activities are generally policy or program oriented. Most departments we investigated provided both policies and programs.
3. The cleavage between community leadership, policies/funding practices and administration is destabilizing.
4. Type-B and possibly type-C organizations may be less effective if clients do not understand the reasons for the programs they administer. For example, case-workers spoke of problems in doing their jobs, and traced these problems to a lack of co-operation or intelligence on the part of most clients. Conversely, some case-workers were engaged in teaching, organizing, or even representing their clients. In either event, the case-workers began to operate outside the formal limits of their jobs and thereby created a problem of legitimacy.
5. Departments are actually unable to engage in any systematic planning process because they exist in highly charged political environments.
6. The adoption of this process can readily by determined when a history of each of the special organizations is examined. Both the time of implementation and content of the programs reinforce this supposition.
7. See, for example, the introduction of EOF programs.
8. The 1960s was a time of expansion of Native-oriented programs, marked by an abundance of resources and large doses of optimism and faith in the ability of 'systems' techniques to solve social problems. The organizational structure and processes created and refined from 1968 to the early 1970s concentrated on the development of comprehensive policies and programs. However, the integration of policy, programs and an effective delivery system was weak.
9. For example, in 1959 Alberta transfered responsibility from its Civil

Service Commission to a political agency, the Office of the Premier. Cabinet Committees were introduced in 1972, and this allowed for a broader perspective on highly specialized problems and for the examination of issues that extend beyond a single department. This development represented a change in the policy of the previous, government whose practice was to consult experts on the *means* of obtaining an end and to allow the electorate to decide on the ends themselves.

10. Alberta's current policy would allow for recovery of 80 per cent of costs directly from DIAND; only 20 per cent of costs would be provided by the province. Of this 20 per cent, about one-fourth would be recovered through general cost-sharing arrangements between the federal and provincial governments. The remainder of costs would be covered from taxation revenues which the province receives from all resident Indians. As the number of off-reserve Indians increases, provincial revenues would increase. In 1978, for example, Alberta recovered $38 million of its total Native-related costs from the federal government. On this basis, the province would make money on programs devised to help its Natives. Moreover, it would obtain a significant degree of control over the future course of Indian policy. For example, the Government of Alberta has already stated that for any Native-directed program that is created, it will provide an identical program available to *any* Albertan. This position does not acknowledge the existence of any cultural, social or economic differences between Indians and non-Indians or the concept of 'citizen plus'. In effect, it also means that any service that is not to be made available to all Albertans will not be provided for Indians.

11. Accommodative organizations are likely to employ workers whose qualifications do not meet the public service standards established

by the larger society. The problems of legitimacy created by substandard qualifications and insufficient credentials is exacerbated by the need to mobilize clients to obtain and maintain funding for hiring workers compatible with clients and to abandon programs when the number of participants decreases.

12. It has been argued that this inconsistency exists, in part, because of the unique structure and history of DIAND. Prior to the 1970s, Indian Affairs Branch civil servants were able to set and implement policy as they saw the situation. However, since that time, the government's structure has changed so that DIAND officials do not set policy, but implement it. For example, when the White Paper was introduced, DIAND officials did not support its policy and thus were instrumental in blocking its implementation.

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Recent Evolution of Canada's Indian Policy

Harvey Bostrom

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Recent Evolution of Canada's Indian Policy

Historical Background

Indian Affairs administration in Canada has evolved from a paradox of basic policy. Between 1830 and 1860, the expressed aim of government policy was to assimilate Indians. This policy of assimilation--though the word used in those days was 'civilize'--represented a long-range effort to raise Indians to what the colonizing Europeans regarded as their own lofty moral and intellectual level. This aim was to be achieved by means of church and school. Having adopted this aim, the governments of the time then proceeded to introduce practices that isolated Indians and made assimilation impossible even for those who might have been susceptible to this process. These practices included placing Indians on reserves, recognizing corporate, that is, band rights only, and creating a special agency to administer Indian affairs.

The fact that assimilation and isolation were contradictory policies did not seem to occur to those in authority at the time. Some, however, did wonder why Indian Affairs policies did not seem to bear fruit. As late as 1850, Lord Grey observed "that less has been accomplished towards the civilization and improvement of Indians in Canada in proportion to the expense incurred than has been done for the native tribes of our other colonies." In 1854 Lord Elgin wrote that "Indians have surely by this time arrived at a sufficiently enlightened condition to be emancipated." More than a hundred and twenty-five years ago, these gentlemen were expressing concerns that sound as if they had been clipped from todays newspapers.

In 1860 Indian Affairs was transferred from the oversight of British authorities to Canadian administration. The legislation that effected this transfer reaffirmed that assimilation was the basic aim of Indian Affairs. At the same time, the administrative forms that reinforced the separation of Indians from the larger community were continued; these consisted of reserves, a special clientèle department, the recognition of Indian corporate rights only, special legislation, and so on. Thus a policy devised in the 1830s was carried forward to Confederation. Though subsequently extended, elaborated and somewhat modified, this paradoxical policy has remained essentially intact. It now haunts and baffles Canada's present-day governments.

The effect of this policy, to this very day, has been to rob Indians of their culture and their rightful heritage as a responsible people. A paternalistic, rigid, federal trusteeship system, which only in the last twenty years had begun to mellow, permitted Indian people little or no say over the disposition of their lands and monies or the management of business transactions and social, community, and local government activities. The result today is that the economic, health, social and educational needs of Indian people are massive indeed.

As debilitating as their relationship has been to the federal government, Indian people today will not countenance or accept any change in their status. The reason for this rejection of change is understandable. They became, in effect, 'citizens minus' as a result of being required to relate to the federal government within a paradoxical, 'colonialist', legal and administrative framework. The development of Indian people, in a positive sense, must stem, in their view, from the establishment of a new relationship to the federal government wherein they are treated as 'citizens plus'. In other words, Indian people expect to receive a form of reparation from the federal government for the wrongs and depredations they suffered in the past. This expectation is, essentially, the present determinant of Indian/federal relationships. Implicit in it is the conviction that the federal government is historically and morally obligated to make the large outlays required in cash and kind to meet Indian needs and correct past wrongs.

Until the late 1950s, the Canadian government had developed no evident strategy to shift any of its financial burdens to the provinces. Up to that time, provinces had occasion to deal with the federal government on a few specific Indian issues. These often involved the disposition of Indian reserve lands that were ceded on a regular basis to meet the burgeoning needs of a developing country. For the most part, however, Indians received all their services from the federal government. Although there were exceptions, involving *ad hoc* arrangements, in a few isolated program sectors operated by provincial departments and private agencies, these were not regarded as particularly significant. In every instance, the federal government paid all the costs of services provided under these exceptional arrangements.

Beginning in 1964, the federal government made its first concerted effort to transfer some of its program and fiscal responsibilities for Indians to the provinces. This initiative petered out by 1968 without having achieved much success. Between 1968 and 1970, the federal White Paper proposals flowered briefly and withered in the face of strong Indian resistance. The pertinent White Paper included provisions for a massive shift to the provinces of program responsibility and costs. Beginning about 1970 and continuing to the present day, the federal government has fallen back on what could be described as a 'pragmatic approach'. This approach involves exploiting every opportunity that occurs to transfer Indian services to federal departments other than the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and to the provinces. So far this approach has enjoyed a measure of success.

Included in the three main federal strategies employed since 1964 to transfer responsibility for Indian services to the provinces have been various policy and fiscal assumptions. In each instance, these assumptions had been reviewed and approved by the federal Cabinet and can be regarded as constituting authority for federal action wherever they have not been officially revoked. The relevance of these standing federal authorizations to possible future discussions between the provinces and the federal government is so immediate that it is worthwhile to outline them here.

Function-by-Function Approach, 1964 - 1968

In a submission to Cabinet tabled in May 1964, the federal position on the extension of provincial services to Indians was set out as follows:

> The basic aim of the federal government has been to assist Indians and Indian communities to participate in the social and economic life of Canada on the basis of equality with other citizens.... To attain this goal, Indians must have access to the same range and standard of services made available to other citizens by the provinces. These could be provided by the federal administration. However, this would mean duplicating for Indians each of the provinces' programs and would pose formidable administrative difficulties and involve high costs in view of the relatively small Indian population in

each province, and the scattered pattern of Indian communities.

The Cabinet memorandum went on to recommend a function-by-function approach to negotiating the extension of provincial services to Indians. This arrangement was seen as offering a higher possibility of success than any approach based on the principle of a lump-sum transfer to provinces that would cover a range of programs. A function-by-function approach was also seen as a tactic for avoiding provincial resistance to transferring responsibilities and costs. It was also regarded as a less threatening approach to Indians who "fear major changes".

The financial formula proposed at this time was designed to introduce the principle of federal-provincial cost-sharing for Indians. An ultimate objective clearly was to persuade the provinces, in the long run, to accept the same cost-sharing arrangements for Indians as they did for their other citizens. At the same time, the federal government seemed to recognize that Indians tended to form a 'high-cost' group in each of the provinces, and that these exceptional costs should be covered by federal contributions. More specifically, the federal government undertook to relate its financial contributions for extensions of provincial services to Indians to the extent to which Indians created a special per capita expense in each province. In other words, in each province, cost for Indians would be shared on a 50/50 basis in each program sector, depending on the per capita costs for operating that program for non-Indians. All costs over and above this average per capita amount would be entirely covered by the federal government.

This formula was expected to establish a cost-sharing ratio of about 97:3 in most program sectors. The theory behind the planning of the formula was that as the economic and social conditions of the Indian people improved, Indian per capita costs would go down in relation to non-

Indian per capita costs. This change would cause the provincial share of costs for each program to increase gradually, and the federal contribution would drop correspondingly until 'normal' cost-sharing balances were reached. Cabinet approved these proposals, and in the five months that preceded its possible adoption by Parliament and the provinces, federal officials visited all the provinces to promote the approach that the proposals embodied. The culmination of this process was a federal-provincial conference of Ministers of Indian Affairs, which met in Ottawa on the 29 and 30 October 1964.

A communiqué issued after the conference highlighted a number of points of agreement:

- Provincial and federal governments should try to improve conditions and opportunities for Indians and should correlate their policies and programs.
- Consultation with Indians was of fundamental importance for the success of any federal-provincial effort to further extend services to Indian communities.
- A flexible approach should be taken in a manner consistent with conditions and circumstances in each province.
- Co-ordinating committees comprised of federal and provincial representatives should be established in the provinces to study priorities and to deal with matters of mutual interest.
- Financial aspects of program extension by provinces should be referred to a continuing committee of officials for further study.

This first federal/provincial conference on Indian Affairs apparently ended on a highly optimistic note. The general impression was that substantial agreement had been reached on major points, and that a solid basis had been laid for rationalizing the large-scale participation of provinces in Indian programs. By December 1965, Indian Advisory

Committees had been set up to meet on a regular basis with Indian Affairs officials, and in many provinces, co-ordinating committees were being formed.

One of the first sectors chosen for implementation of the new function-by-function approach was that of welfare programs. This involved the formulation of a draft agreement covering the whole gamut of welfare programs which, at that time, were being cost-shared by the provinces and the federal Department of National Health and Welfare. This Department undertook to pay, out of its appropriations, the federal share (about 97%) of costs for Indian welfare programs as determined by the formula.

After subsequent bilateral negotiations, Ontario was the only province to sign this agreement. All other provinces raised various objections to the agreement. The major objection was that in principle, the federal government should agree to pay the entire cost of extending welfare programs to Indians. No further progress was subsequently made in the welfare sector, and no other functions were proposed for incorporation into these arrangments.

In 1966 statutory provision was made, under Part II of the Canada Assistance Plan, to incorporate the 1964 cost-sharing formula in the Plan. This provision, however, has remained a dead letter to this day.

Towards the end of October 1966, a Prairie-provinces' Ministerial Conference on Government Matters Pertaining to the Affairs of Native People took place in Winnipeg. The prairie premiers of the day were clearly perturbed by what they perceived to be an increasingly urgent need for constructive and imaginative efforts to improve the worsening condition of Native people. As a result of this meeting, recommendations were made to the Prairie Economic Council, which included the following points:

- In future consultations with the Government of Canada on the extension of services to people of Indian ancestry, a comprehensive, rather than a fragmented, approach should be adopted.

- Provinces should make immediate representation to the federal government, requesting that all government agreements and programs affecting people of Indian ancestry be reviewed. (Particular concern was expressed that provinces committed themselves to costly programs without first establishing priorities and obtaining federal agreement. Concern was also expressed about the establishment, without consultation, of exclusively federal programs that might have adverse ramifications that would affect existing federal-provincial programs.)

The Prairie Economic Council, in turn, came out in strong support of early federal-provincial discussions on Indian issues. Instead of another conference, the Council opted for a 'low-key' task force composed of federal and provincial officials, who would conduct consultations and studies with special reference to the following areas:

- A review of all government programs and agreements affecting people of Indian ancestry
- The development of a comprehensive approach and program, including program priorities, relating to government services for people of Indian ancestry.
- Clarification of constitutional and taxation questions relative to the respective responsibilities of the federal and provincial governments.

These views were conveyed, in a letter dated 8 March 1967, to the Prime Minister of Canada. The three western premiers all signed the letter. Unfortunately, this letter arrived on the eve of Lester Pearson's departure from office, and that event was followed by a Liberal leadership convention, which elected Pierre Trudeau. Mr. Trudeau's accession was followed immediately by a major Cabinet shuffle which affected, among other departments, the Department of Indian Affairs. There was apparently no constructive federal response to the Western premiers' suggestions for undertaking comprehensive reviews of Indian problems and providing imaginative solutions.

The advent of the Trudeau leadership initiated a traumatic period for the Department of Indian Affairs. During 1968 the DIAND tried to accommodate two Ministers: Jean Chrétien, who headed the Department, and Bob Andras, who was then Minister Without Portfolio, responsible for consultations with Indians concerning revisions to the Indian Act. The two Ministers disagreed publicly on many key questions of Indian policy, to the embarrassment of the government and the dismay of DIAND officials.

In August 1968, a premiers' conference again addressed itself to unresolved Indian issues. Federal observers reported a common concern in the Prairies that the federal government was not co-ordinating its own efforts and was offering proposals for Indian services that varied from province to province. References were also made at this meeting to large, but ineffective, federal expenditures in this field, to practices that discriminated between Métis and Indians, and to the ambiguous position of provinces with respect to status Indians. These concerns were referred to the new Minister of Indian Affairs, who responded in October 1968, with a further submission to the Cabinet. The new proposal recognized the provinces' lack of acceptance of the 1964 cost-sharing proposals, involving a function-by-function approach, and subsequent provincial unresponsiveness to the provisions of Part II of the Canada Assistance Plan. It was suggested that the federal government should respond to the concerns of the Western premiers by making further efforts to promote the 1964 formula. Should this approach fail, the fall-back position would be for the federal government to offer agreements to pay 100 per cent of the costs incurred specifically by provincial child-welfare programs extended to Indians. This payment would apply only to Indians living on reserves, Crown lands or unorganized territory. Cabinet rejected this proposal on the ground that Ontario had already accepted the 1964 formula. To offer a different arrangement to other provinces would seem to confirm provincial criticisms that the federal government was not dealing with provinces in a fair or consistent way.

As 1968 drew to a close, a Deputy Ministers Conference on Welfare, held in Montreal, reviewed the situation with respect to federal/provincial agreements on Indian services. It was clear that little or no progress had been made in rationalizing the creation of a provincial role in Indian services since the federal initiatives of 1964 and the one attempted by the Prairie premiers in 1966. Manitoba held out for receiving from the federal government 100 per cent of the costs of providing direct services to Indians and requested that a formula be developed to calculate federal contributions for indirect services. Alberta and Saskatchewan insisted that the federal government should accept entire responsibility for providing all on-reserve services. The Maritimes were critical of the federal government's persistence in taking a 'fractured' approach to Indian issues. British Columbia was pessimistic about achieving any resolution of the problem of providing Indian services unless and until Indians were able to participate in finding solutions. Ontario alone reported progress under the 1964 formula that provided for the federal government to contribute 97 per cent of the cost a range of welfare programs. By 1968 all Indian income-maintenance programs had been brought under this arrangement. Many bands which had the financial means were participating financially as municipalities and were, in effect, administering their own programs. The arrangement was being extended rapidly to cover homes for the aged, homemaker services, nursing services, and day nurseries.

This is where matters stood at the end of 1968. Repeated provincial requests for political meetings relating to the problems of jurisdiction and financial responsibility brought no response from Ottawa. The main reason for this lack of response was that by then, a concerted federal effort was being mobilized, though marked by severe internal conflicts and upheavals, to meet the Prime Minister's demand for a 'final solution' to the Indian problem. This solution, produced in secrecy, was to be the ill-fated White Paper of 1969.

The White-Paper Approach, 1968 - 1970

In June 1969, the federal government issued a White Paper announcing a proposed new Indian Policy. An inter-departmental committee chaired by the Privy Council Office had taken approximately one year to produce this White Paper. The whole exercise was an attempt to respond to the Prime Minister's insistence that the Department of Indian Affairs make a fundamental reassessment of Indian policies and find a new direction. Given escalating federal appropriations for Indian administration and programs, the Prime Minister rejected out of hand any approach that entailed expanding or enriching existing departmental programs. Although consultations with Indians concerning revisions to an Indian Act had been under way during the whole of 1968, these did not encompass proposals of the type to which the White Paper addressed itself. When the White Paper proposals appeared, therefore, Indians predictably took the position that there had been no prior consultations whatsoever with them about the White Paper.

The basic theme of the White Paper was "non-discriminatory participation by Indians in Canadian society". The Paper assumed, in effect, that the accumulation of special legal and administrative structures and provisions that governed Indian people was "discriminatory", and that to simply do away with the special status of Indians would ensure their immediate well-being and future development. The provisions were similar in intent to the American 'termination' policy that was implemented in 1953 "to get the United States out of the Indian business". The fact that the American experience had proved disastrous and that it had to be revoked was apparently not noted by federal planners.

The White Paper spelled out a number of measures that were to be implemented immediately:

- The legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination were to be removed.
- Services were to come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians, including Indians. (This change would, in effect, transfer all Indian-related program responsibilities from the federal government to the provinces.)
- Control of Indian lands was to be transferred to Indian people.

To achieve these objectives, the federal government declared itself ready to take the following steps. It would:

- Propose to Parliament that the Indian Act be repealed and take the necessary legislative measures to transfer title of Indian lands to Indians
- Propose to the provinces that they take over the same responsibility for Indians that they already carried for other citizens. The take-over would be accompanied by the transfer to the provinces federal funds normally provided for Indian programs; these funds would be augmented as necessary
- As an interim measure, make funds available for Indian economic development
- Phase out that part of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development that deals with Indian Affairs within five years and transfer to other appropriate federal

departments the federal government's and residual responsibilities for Indian programs

- Appoint a Commissioner to consult with the Indians and to study and recommend acceptable procedures for the adjudication of claims
- Invite the executives of the National Indian Brotherhood and the various provincial associations to discuss the role that they might play in implementing the new policy and the funding they would need to accomplish this task.

The public announcement of the new policy brought immediate denunciation and rejection from Indian groups from coast to coast. The event had the effect of mobilizing Indians across Canada on a front which was united in an unprecedented way.

In the meantime, the Department of Indian Affairs had organized an elaborate and large "Consultation and Negotiation Team" headed by an official of the rank of Assistant Deputy Minister. The Team's mandate was to implement the White Paper, an assignment that proved impossible to accomplish. Indians refused even to talk to members of the Team, and provinces would not enter into negotiations without the approval and participation of Indians. After a year of inactivity and frustration, the Team disbanded.

To rebut the White Paper, the Indian Association of Alberta developed a 'Red Paper', which was endorsed by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood. The 'Red Paper', was presented to the Prime Minister in a large meeting held in June 1970 and attended by about five hundred Indians and about a dozen Ministers.

The 'Red Paper' articulated the following key points:

- The recognition of Indian status is essential for justice.
- The federal government is bound by the British North America

Act[1] to accept legislative responsibility for Indians and Indian lands and cannot transfer responsibilities to the provinces at will.

- The elimination of the Indian Act is neither possible nor desirable.

Indians asked the Prime Minister for time and resources to examine their situation, to set their own objectives, and to develop their own options. The Prime Minister agreed to their requests. Although briefed to support the White Paper, the Prime Minister, in effect, pulled the rug from under these proposals. Furthermore, he promised that unilateral solutions would not be imposed on the Indian people. The result was that the organizational and policy momentum which had taken a year to gather steam came to an abrupt halt.

Underpinning the public version of the White Paper was a mass of documents dealing with strategies and detailed implementation plans. These documents never saw the light of day after the White Paper was aborted. However, those papers dealing with a provincial role in providing Indian services are still relevant, at least to the extent that they represent blueprints that received Cabinet approval and that have remained as reference points for the Department of Indian Affairs. The formula, for example, that Cabinet approved for negotiating the transfer of Indian services to the provinces, included the following considerations:

- As far as possible, any direct relationship between the form and amount of compensation and the clientèle group was to be avoided in order to minimize the problems of continuing discriminatory identification of the Indian minority.
- The present tax-paying capacity of Indian Canadians, in relation to both provincial and federal taxes, and the projected increase in such capacity was to be recognized.
- A definite time period was to be established over which the practice of financial transfer would come to an end.

- Assurance was to be provided that federal funds transferred to the provinces were actually used to provide the services required.
- Sufficient flexibility to adapt to the different conditions prevailing in different provinces was to be ensured.
- As an essential feature of overall federal budget planning and control, provision was to be made for known ceilings and the adequate forecasting of increases in federal expenditure.

The actual formula was to be based on a number of distinct elements. These included:

- An agreement with each province that set forth a declaration of purpose, emphasizing the objective of integration of services for Indians into the overall framework of provincial and federal services provided for all Canadians.
- The calculation for each province of a base, or lump-sum, federal contribution (for example, the approximate federal expenditure on the services in a given province in 1969-1970, including a due share of headquarters programs and overhead).
- The increase of the base, or lump-sum, contribution by an agreed-upon growth factor (including population growth and volume of services per capita) for a fixed period of years. (A growth factor of 9 to 10 per cent was suggested for a period of ten years.)
- The stabilization of the dollar amount of the federal compensation, after the growth period, for a further fixed term of (ten) years, to be followed by a phasing-out period, which would would last for an agreed-upon period, possibly of ten years.
- A definition of 'eligible provincial expenditures', that is, the broad range, general categories, or specific programs of services for which a province might claim compensation,

chargeable up to the limit of the federal transfer in any one year.

- A requirement that the province should provide reasonable documentation to support the purposes and amounts of its claims.

This particular federal package did not envisage the development of provincial Departments of Indian Affairs and viewed this possibility as undesirable.

With the demise of the White Paper in 1970, the federal government was left without any clearly articulated policy direction in Indian Affairs. Even worse, it found itself with a Department of Indian Affairs in a total state of organizational disarray and confusion. The Indians, on the other hand, emerged with a new sense of consensus and awareness of their common objectives. They also had the lever they needed, given the Prime Minister's statements to them, to seek greatly expanded financial assistance from Ottawa to extend the scope and efficacy of their organizations. By the end of July 1970, the Secretary of State obtained Cabinet authority to increase federal grants to Indian associations by several million dollars.

The Pragmatic Approach, 1970-1976:

Since 1970, when the White Paper ostensibly was laid to rest, federal efforts to create some form of acceptable policy and fiscal framework within which provinces could extend their programs to Indians appear to have ceased. Tripartite committees were introduced in three provinces to deal with operational and procedural questions on a decentralized basis. In the absence of a policy context within which to function, these committees have tended to become inactive.

Having failed in its two major initiatives to shift its responsibilities for Indian programs to provinces, on a large scale, the federal government has adopted a more pragmatic strategy. This approach appears to operate at two levels in a way which suggests that, whether intentionally or not, the essential White-Paper objectives are still highly operative. To improve its relations with Indian people, the federal government has opted for the creation of formal consultative machinery at the Cabinet level. The Red Paper had recommended the formation of a new consultative body, representative of various key federal departments, which would be empowered to transfer resources--presumably including fiscal powers--to Indian people. This new body was expected to address itself to issues involving treaties, aboriginal rights, land tenure, and so on. Métis were to be excluded from this mechanism because Indian people did not wish to complicate questions relating to their 'special' status and rights.

After numerous false starts, often generated by Indian suspicions about the unseen 'cards' that the federal government might be playing, a Joint Cabinet-National Indian Brotherhood Committee was announced in letters to provincial premiers on 30 March 1976. Responsible to this Joint Committee were a Joint Sub-committee on Indian Rights and Claims, composed of three Ministers and three Indian leaders, and a Canadian Indian Rights Commission, which was to exercise a mediatory, ombudsman-type of function. The Commission's work would be supported by three appointed Commissioners (for the Prairies, Ontario and Quebec, and Maritimes). This whole structure and process would be served by a special Secretariat in the Privy Council Office.

The federal government clearly hoped that through its new consultative machinery, it would create a more viable and effective relationship of mutual trust and confidence with Indian people. After the White Paper débâcle, it became obvious that earlier distrust and hostility between Indians and the Department of Indian Affairs had deepened beyond any possibility of early dissipation. Any dialogue between Ottawa and Indians, therefore, which was now regarded as necessary to deal with hopelessly tangled Indian-policy issues, would have to be conducted by an 'objective' third party. Underlying this new emphasis on consultation, which has yet to be fully accepted by Indians as a *modus operandi*, are federal expectations of an ultimate resolution to the problem of creating an acceptable provincial role in providing Indian services.

A federal reading of the situation at the present time can be summarized as follows:

- The provinces are willing to extend services to Indians under acceptable arrangements, but will not do so unless invited by both Indians and the federal government.
- Indians are reluctant to press the provinces for services, even though they recognize the need to do so, because of their anxiety about erosion of their special status. The White Paper sensitized Indian people to the possibility that their special status, their 'rights', and so on, could be traded off for other benefits, such as provincial services. Such trade-offs are not acceptable to Indian people.
- Given provincial reluctance to take the initiative in the face of Indian suspicions, as well as a new wariness by Indians about underlying federal motives, the federal government thought it expedient to become much less prescriptive in its approach. Thus, the present federal view is that it is not feasible to call a federal-provincial conference on Indian Affairs without precipitating a further Indian reaction.
- The federal government plans, therefore, once the new federal-Indian consultation machinery is established and working, to bring provinces into its discussions with Indian groups. This provincial involvement will take place, in the view of Ottawa strategists, as soon as tripartite consultative committees come into being in each of the provinces as an essential extension of the Joint Cabinet-Indian Committee in

> Ottawa. Many issues involving provincial services for Indians could then be resolved and managed on a purely local basis.

Typically, while the consultative process is being put into place--and it appears to have taken ten years to achieve what is yet a minimal gain--various federal departments seem to be operating in an Indian-policy vacuum. The chief operating consideration at federal departmental levels is how to make shrinking dollars meet expanding needs. This problem is present to an acute degree in Indian Affairs. The methods of dealing with this budgetary problem can be said to represent the second, more subliminal level of current federal activity. It is at this level that the White Paper still poses dangers both to the provinces and to the Indian people.

Although the process of transferring federal responsibilities became evident more than fifteen years ago, there appears to have been a marked acceleration of such transfers from the Department of Indian Affairs to other agencies and departments of the federal government and to the provinces from about 1970 on. An examination of the situation in Manitoba suggests that during this period, the province's contribution to total Indian program costs, which include all federal expenditures, rose from about 15 per cent in 1970 to more than 30 per cent in 1976. At the present rate of increase, it is estimated that Manitoba can expect to be paying 50 per cent of all Indian costs by about 1984. At present there appear to be more concerted efforts under way to cover federally as many Indian costs as possible in appropriations that the Department of Indian Affairs does not administer. Significant program costs for Indians, for example, are currently being met by the Departments of National Health and Welfare, Employment and Immigration, Secretary of State, Regional Economic Expansion, and others. Most recently, an effort was made to shift responsibilities for Indian housing to Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, a move which has been blocked, at least temporarily, by the National Indian Brotherhood.

Whatever excellent intentions may motivate the federal government's moves in establishing its new consultation structures, it seems clear that at the operating levels, policy directions are, in fact, being set without adequate consultation. Indeed, it appears that there is not even a clear understanding of the future possible implications of what amounts to a general dilution and unloading of federal responsibilities for Indian services. As far as can be determined, the main factors generating the move to spread Indian costs among various federal agencies and the provinces, have to do with the degree of visibility and vulnerability that now characterize budgets of the Department of Indian Affairs. The 1975-1976 budget of the Department of Indian Affairs and National Health and Welfare (Indian medical services), approximated $500 million. In 1969-1970, when Federal budget projections for Indians were being reviewed in Cabinet, it was anticipated that the cost in 1975-1976 would reach $336 million. The estimate proved low by $164 million.

In the view of the Federal Treasury Board and the Department of Finance, Indian costs are not only subject to grossly inaccurate projections, but are also increasingly disproportionate to the results that the spending of these sums achieves. One would think that in these circumstances, the most constructive action to take in the best interests of Indian people, would be to find ways to increase the impact of this spending. This action, however, has not been taken. Instead, a tactic seems to have been adopted to 'hide' Indian expenditures in as many places as possible, without too much concern for relevance, effectiveness, or the policy implications of such action.

The 'termination' experience in the United States illustrates graphically that a dilution and transfer of federal Indian-program responsibilities to other jurisdictions does not necessarily involve any immediate unloading of all federal obligations for Indians. Such action merely sets the stage for such an event. It is much easier to terminate special Indian status in relation to the federal government once Indian people are firmly dependent on a multitude of agencies for their services. This is why the provinces' involvement in Indian services cannot proceed in an *ad hoc* or capricious way. This involvement must take place in a clear and well-articulated policy context that recognizes and affirms special Indian status as long as the Indians themselves believe it necessary to maintain it. To make other arrangements is to take a less direct but, nevertheless, just as effective, route toward the implementation of the White Paper. The eventual result of such a policy is a reduced level of services to Indians. Later in this report, we shall discuss those implications in light of experience in the province of Manitoba, where the dilution of the federal government's services to Treaty Indians has meant that the provincial government has had to assume the cost of maintaining those services. This, in turn, has meant a reduced level of services to Native people generally, especially in the provision of innovative programs. Where provincial funds are required to pay for services that have historically been provided, essentially, by the federal government, fewer funds are available for innovative programming in economic and resource development and adult education.

Conclusions

The consistent feature that has marked the whole history of federal efforts to establish a significant role for provinces in the provision of services to Indians, is the lack of consultation with the people who would be most affected by the changes the federal government was proposing. This oversight left that government embarrassed and without the co-operation of the Indian people and the provincial governments.

Between 1964 and 1968, a basically sound formula was proposed which recognized that the federal government should carry major financial responsibilities for Indian programs as long as Indian people suffered the extremes of poverty and need. In retrospect, it is reasonable to assume that more than one province would have accepted the rationale behind this formula. Yet the Department of Indian Affairs did not attempt to pursue negotiations with any great rigor. Four changes of Ministers were made in the Department of Indian Affairs during this period, three changes of Deputy Ministers, and at least two major and highly traumatic reorganizations. Whatever real conviction Indian Affairs officials may have had in the 1964 Cabinet, their mandate was sapped, diverted and lost in the internal upheavals of the Department.

The White Paper of 1969, with its blueprint for a resolution of all 'anomalous' arrangements existing between Indians and the federal government, backfired. Indians had been constantly reassured, prior to the advent of the White Paper, that they would be consulted on any major policy shifts in Indian Affairs. Somehow the federal government overlooked its commitments to consult about the White-Paper proposals. As a result, one of its major features, a formula for extending provincial services to Indians, did not even reach the discussion stage with the provinces. Instead, it left Indians more highly mobilized, better financed, and acutely aware of the potential dangers of provincial 'intrusions' into their special relationship with the federal government. It has also generally left them suspicious of any 'change' offered by the federal government.

After 1970, the main concern of federal authorities has been to repair their tattered image with the Indians. The intent of those authorities seems to be to build, at the highest policy levels, a consultative structure involving Indians and enabling them to influence decisions affecting their lives. Any new federal policy initiatives to transfer program responsibilities to provinces would presumably be reviewed jointly by federal Cabinet Ministers and Indian representatives. Yet this new initiative is already being threatened by operating and budgetary decisions that are being made in the federal government departments and especially in the Department of Indian Affairs, and that clearly have significant policy implications for both the Indians and the provinces--all this without benefit of consultation.

In the final analysis, in what is clearly a complex and highly sensitive set of relationships, a breakthrough, if it comes, may have to occur on the initiative of provincial governments. As an informed third party that is finding itself with an increasingly heavy stake in Indian development, a provincial government can provide two things which, at present, are missing from the scene. It can ensure that whatever is done with respect to Indian services is based on a mutually understood and acceptable policy direction that sorts out responsibilities, roles, priorities and objectives, and that whatever is implemented is a product of careful planning in which Indian people have participated. Finally, a provincial government, because it is closer to the scene, can bring to the awareness of both the federal government and the Indian people, the import of such a phenomenon as Indian urbanization. In doing so, it may be able to ensure that an increasing exodus from Indian reserves does not become an excuse for another variation of federal 'termination'.

Note

1. With the 'patriation' of Canada's Constitution in 1982, the British North America Act became the Constitution Act, 1982.

Government Policies and Programs Relating to Urban Indians

An Analysis of the American Experience

John A. Price

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1: Determinants of Indian Urbanization

It is useful to start a review of the American experience in government policies and programs relating to urban Indians with a commentary on some of the general determinants of Indian urbanization.[1] These determinants can be considered in terms of British and French influence; the evolutionary level reached by the Native societies; Native community heritage; urban proximity; and the degree of institutionalization of Native culture. We shall also consider some of the diversity among Indians and the variety of their experiences in adapting to urban environments. We need to remind ourselves that the aboriginal societies occupying what are now the United States (USA) and Canada displayed more linguistic and cultural diversity than did the nations of Europe. Of the 163 aboriginal languages spoken in Canada and the USA, thirty-five are still viable in the USA, and thirty-four are still viable in Canada. Thus, when we use the word 'Indian', we should recognize that it expresses more diversity than the word 'European'.

British and French Influence: A Comparison

Differences between the British and French cultures in Indian/non-Indian relationships help us to understand the urbanization process itself. In areas of strong French influence, urbanization proceeded more slowly and more humanely, and urban Indian ethnic institutions have remained relatively undeveloped, compared with their development in areas of strong British influence. The British made land-cession treaties, created segregated reservations, and dealt with Indians under a more paternalistic, and more bureaucratic, form of colonialism than did the French. French legal practice assumed that land sovereignty passed to the French when they acquired political and military control of the Indians. The representatives of the Romance cultures who came to the New World tended to be somewhat more brutal than were the British in their early contacts, and the former settlers treated Indians as direct colonial subjects, to be 'civilized', in European terms, with few legal or bureaucratic formalities. To the extent that the early Romance cultures had bureaucracies at all, these were extensions of European feudalism, creating large estates in the feudal style in Latin America and Church-protected enclaves of Indians in French Canada.

More Romance settlers intermarried with the Natives than did their British counterparts, and the former group seems to have been significantly less racially prejudiced than the latter. This more direct, less prejudiced treatment of Natives has evolved into a more humane situation in French Canada--and a less humane situation in French-Natchez relations in Louisiana, in the Spanish Caribbean, and in Portuguese Brazil--than in British Canada. Thus many Indians have assimilated with the French population of Quebec in a relatively trauma-free way or have found a satisfying way of life in the rural and bush settings of most reserves.

French-speaking Indians tend to take their Indian ethnicity more lightly than English-speaking Indians, perhaps as a matter of pride in their genealogical 'roots' or an interest in archaeological and historical research or as an ambition to learn certain arts and crafts. French-speaking Indians have initiated relatively few Indian voluntary associations, periodicals, and urban centres with active local involvements. Working on the assumption that the Indians in French Canada must be like those in British Canada, the Canadian and Quebec governments have instituted in French Canada some British-style programs, such as urban Indian centres. Of course, these programs employ hundreds of Indians, but they have little in the way of a clientèle or of active, local, grass-roots support. Indians in French Canada take little interest in demonstration marches, the occupation of government Indian agencies, or the revitalization of Indian religions. They are interested in their rights, their services, their history, their industries, and other issues that we associate with a relatively assimilated population.

Most of the Indians in Quebec speak English as a second language. The British-originated Indian Act is valid in Quebec, as in Canada's other provinces and the Supreme Court of Canada has ruled that the Quebec government must compensate the Cree Indians of Northern Quebec for the province's development of their land according to what is known as the 'James Bay Agreement'; this 'modern treaty' was signed in 1975. Still, the French influence has predominated in Quebec, and for this reason that province tends to have the best standing in the country in several indices relating to the quality of Indian life: for example, the highest average incomes, the lowest arrest rates, the highest level of the exclusion of alcohol from reserves, the lowest murder and suicide rates. These conditions have important implications for policies relating to Indians and for Indian urbanization. The French Canadians have tended not to formulate Indian policies at all, except to treat Indians as rural indigeneous citizens who needed to be civilized, Christianized, *and* accepted. It is the final element that is crucial for the success of this 'policy-free policy'.

The Indians of British North America have a serious 'Euro-Canadian problem' on their hands: Euro-Canadian racism. That attitude stimulates a relatively inhumane cultural context, and this context, in turn, creates problems for Indians on their reserves. The situation encourages Indians to migrate to cities, where they slowly form urban-Indian ethnic institutions as part of their adaptation to urban life.

The first Indian reserves anywhere were established in the vicinity of Montreal. Their purpose was only to set aside land for the communities of Christian Indians that were being supported by the Church. There was little social segregation between these communities and the majority society until, after Confederation, the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs set up a separate system to administer Indian communities.

The effects of the French Canadian context for Indian urbanization appear in three major settings: northern Quebec, the southern reserves, and urban institutions. The Indians, Métis and Inuit of northern Quebec have been tolerated and allowed to live their own way of life to a greater degree than have those groups in the same latitudes in northern Ontario, Manitoba, and the Northwest Territories. The Indians of southern Quebec tend to be urbanized in that their reserves are integrated into the Quebec economy, political system, transportation system, and the general life of the province. However, since their life on the reserve is relatively better than the life of Indians in other parts of Canada, more Native people continue to live on their reserves in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. At the end of 1976, the off-reserve proportion of Indians in Quebec was only 18 per cent, compared to the national average of 28 per cent. Another effect of the French context on Indian urbanization is the undeveloped character of the urban-Indian community in Quebec: those Indians who have migrated to Quebec's urban centres seem to have made the move without any more trauma than non-Indians who move to cities from a rural or isolated bush setting. For example, the general arrest rate for Indians in Quebec seems to be essentially the same as that for non-Indians in the province, and the rate of Indian arrests for indictable or serious offences is actually less than that of non-Indians. There are thus, in per capita terms, fewer Indians than non-Indians in federal prisons in Quebec, while there is a much higher proportion of Indians than of non-Indians in the prisons of British Canada.

Little racism is shown against the Cree Indians in the northern frontier town of Val d'Or, Quebec, while considerable racism is practised against the Cree Indians in such frontier towns as Kenora, Ontario and Churchill, Manitoba. All of these towns have large Indian populations. When we control the comparisons and maintain the constants of a large population (the same tribe, a town setting, and a frontier setting), we see major differences between French and English settings, but no significant difference between the settings of the two British-heritage provinces of Ontario and Manitoba. One point of this discussion is to make it clear that Indian urbanization proceeds differently in Quebec than it does in British America.

Evolutionary Level of North American Indian Societies

One major factor that has affected, and continues to affect, Indian/Euro-Canadian relationships is the relative stage of evolutionary development of the societies in contact. The European societies were still somewhat simple states when their settlers first arrived in Canada. However, they were far more developed than the fifty primitive societies they met here, which were at the evolutionary levels that we call 'bands', 'tribes', and 'chiefdoms'. Historically the *bands* were easily displaced or manipulated, the *tribes* gave the most militant resistance, and *chiefdoms* were peacefully coerced into co-operation by their own strong leadership.

As a factor in urbanization, the more advanced the evolutionary heritage of a group, the better organized and the less traumatic has been the urban adaptation of its members. Thus the chiefdoms of the Southeast USA, their descendants in Oklahoma, and the chiefdoms of British Columbia set most of the early models for the formation of Indian associations, the publication of Native newspapers, Indian appeals to the government, Native land-claim cases, and similar developments. The tribes, such as the Iroquois, Pueblos, and Blackfoot, tended to go through long phases of militant and religious revitalization before they engaged in modern forms of political action. The largely passive history of bands, such as Eskimos, northern Dene, and Paiutes, ended only in the 1970s with the formation, for the first time in their entire histories, of large political associations. The band-heritage societies are located in the Great Basin of the USA and across the Arctic and Subarctic. They are just now becoming urbanized. When we speak of the extreme difficulties of urban migration and adaptation in Alaska and Canada, we are talking primarily about people with a band heritage, especially Aleuts, Yuit, Inuit, northern Dene, Cree, Ojibwa, and Micmac. In a city such as Toronto, it is the newly arrived Ojibwa and Cree who are experiencing severe problems, not the thousands of fairly-well assimilated Iroquois who are established there.

Native Community Heritage

Related to evolutionary level, but somewhat distinct from it, are those features of home communities, related to their history and social structure, that are important in preparing individuals for urban migration and adaptation. Agricultural communities such as the Southwest Pueblos have been, to some degree, urban for a thousand years so that people who were born and raised in a Pueblo village usually adapt better to Euro-American towns and cities than people from government-created reservation villages. The cultural background of a large West Coast fishing village seems to provide a better urban preparation than does a hunting heritage. This observation can be tested by comparing societies at essentially the same evolutionary level that have different subsistence strategies. One might, for example, compare Pueblo and Coastal Salish, who inhabit large settled villages, with Blackfoot and Sioux, who have a heritage of semi-nomadic hunting villages. I think the evidence supports the hypothesis that the Pueblo and Coastal Salish have a history of easier urban adaptation than have the Blackfoot and Sioux. Both of the latter tribes, for example, have more violent histories. In Oklahoma, groups that have a tribal-level hunting heritage, such as Kiowa and Comanche, tend to have more problems in adapting to urban living than have groups with a chiefdom-level agricultural heritage, such as the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw.

When we examine the very specific character of individual communities, we find that even within the same society, the various Indian communities differ widely in the degree to which their people are prepared to live in urban communities. Their degree of preparation is related to such circumstances as the long-term quality of a given community's political and religious leadership, its teachers, and its economic prosperity. We can make comparisons to hold every conceivable variable constant and still find variations, say, between neighbouring communities on the same reservation. Some reserves have such frightening reputations for drinking and fighting that many people have moved away from them, while others have attracted new residents because of their peaceful and co-operative ways.

Urban Proximity

In the mind of the urban Indian migrant, the primary purpose of migration is to find a job. That is the kind of reason for migration that Indians offer on questionnaires and in interviews. They were offering the same reason as long ago as the time of the Meriam Report of 1928. In traditional

Indian culture, there were neither job markets nor jobs. In a world where survival depends on the self-sufficiency of the individual, there is no such thing as 'employment' or 'unemployment'. Now, with 'civilization' geared to an urban-centred job market, the homelands of traditional subsistence cultures have become 'isolated'. If an Indian wants to live today according to the way of his ancestors, he has to cope with crowds of urban-educated teachers and social workers who tell his wife and children what a terrible life they are living in 'poverty', and who insinuate that he should find a 'real' job.

We know that there are many conditions relating to their historical background that Indian informants do not consciously consider. There are, for example, such factors as the Indians' own heritage as it relates to their evolutionary level, the size and nature of their communities, and their specific social group. We also know that at the level of individual decisions, several unstated factors tend to be important. Thus, an Indian's knowledge of urban life, the existence of friends or relatives in the city he is moving to, marriage to a non-Indian, and the existence of social problems on his reserve are the kinds of factors than can accumulate to make him decide to move to the city 'to find a job'.

We find that the degree of proximity of an Indian community to towns and cities is also an important indicator of the degree of urbanization of that community and the extent to which its residents are prepared for urban life. Some of the Indian bands of the Great Basin (essentially those of Nevada and the surrounding areas) built, on town garbage dumps, squatters' camps quite similar to those found in the Third World today. Other Indian bands in the USA and Canada, however, were resettled in reservations on the fringes of towns which, when they subsequently grew into cities, incorporated the reserves. Some Yaqui moved up from Mexico and settled in Tucson, Arizona. There are reserves in or near a number of cities in Canada, such as Vancouver, Sault Ste.

Marie, Montreal, and Quebec City. The extreme urban influence in such situations, where the Indians seem to be retained for generations in a lower-class urban ghetto, can be detrimental to Native community life. These urban reservations might well have become slums. Slowly, however, they have usually become more or less middle-class suburbs, and they have supplied a great deal of the sophisticated leadership for the more recently urbanizing Indians.

In general, the closer an Indian reserve has been to an urban centre, the closer has been its cultural contact and the greater its prosperity. Individual cities seem to draw from a slowly expanding circle or 'catchment basin' of reservations, with the latest wave of new migrants coming primarily from fringes of the circle. Where the urban-centred economies have had a strong effect, as in California, for example, we find that populations tend to build up in reservations close to cities, decline slightly in the mid-distant reservations and, in the most isolated locations, lose their populations except as a retreat for summer vacations and as a retirement community for the older Indians.

Even those Indians who stay on reservations are becoming more highly urbanized as they are integrated into national life through the spread of roads, communications systems, social services, and other means of contact. The isolated and closed communities of traditional rural life are disappearing for everyone, and the Indians are, in some ways, the last-remaining, major, rural population north of Mexico. One of the important skills of urban life is the easy handling of impersonal relationships with strangers. The better one can handle these relationships, the more highly 'urbanized' one is, even if the skill is learned by watching television and by meeting people who visit the reserves. Thus, urban life is coming to the places where Indians live, and the merging process encouraged by this development helps to equip Native people to move to towns and cities.

Institutionalization

The more political forms of urban-Indian ethnic institutions tend to flourish in the contexts of prejudice and discrimination. They seem to be closely related to certain functional needs of social defense and urban adaptation so that when those needs disappear or change, the institutions that filled those needs are terminated or change to meet other needs. In any case, such institutions currently constitute a field of rapid change in North America, where birth and death of political associations, publications, and athletic groups are frequent occurrences.

Ethnic institutions that exercise predominant influence in a single city in British North America generally follow a sequential developmental pattern:

(1) Bars with an Indian clientèle and Indian-oriented welfare services
(2) Kinship and friendship networks and formal welfare-oriented centres
(3) Middle-class voluntary associations, such as dance groups, churches, and athletic leagues
(4) Professional, academic and entrepreneurial services.

As the Indian population in a town or city increases in the first generations of settlement, there is some increase in the number and variety of ethnic institutions. Just as important, however, is the way in which the urban-Indian institutional structure matures. Over the years the Indians living in a given urban centre become more economically stable; members of the group move out of the low-rental district of the downtown areas to suburban residential areas. There is a decline in welfare services and in the importance of the bars where the predominant customers are Indians, and there is an increase in middle-class-oriented institutions such as social clubs. Most of the middle class dissociates itself from the lower class. Thus it is difficult to succeed in running an urban-Indian centre in a single building that can adequately meet the needs of both middle-class and lower-class clients. For the most part, the rising middle-class Indians simply drop out of the formal Indian clubs, but continue to relate, through personal networks, to their Indian friends and relatives, and to make regular visits back to their reservations.

Returning to the reservation is a pervasive pattern in North American Indian life that cuts across all regions, classes and tribal backgrounds, and it is so frequent among the first generation of urban migrants that it has been characterized as 'commuting'. After the first generation, the returns take on the character of occasional ceremonial visits (for weddings, funerals, powwows, and so on), summer vacations, and a small number of permanent returns for retirement or just to lead life at a slower pace.

The important features of mature ethnic institutions are that they are urban-oriented rather than reserve-oriented. These institutions move beyond problems that are unique or particular to Indians, toward universal concerns such as recreation, spirituality, intellectual interest and social service to others. Finally, they tend to be oriented towards educating or including non-Indians.

The whole process of migration and the development of urban-Indian ethnic institutions in the USA seems to be running ten to fifteen years ahead of the process in Canada. If Canada follows the American pattern, we can expect to see a much greater development of pan-Indian urban institutions, such as athletic leagues and Christian churches with Indian leadership, symbols and rituals, as well as what I call 'the fourth-order' ethnic institutions of academics, entrepreneurship and professional services.

Note

1. References are available in John A. Price, *Indians of Canada: Cultural Dynamics* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1979),

Chapters 9-12; and John A. Price, *Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), Chapter 9.

Federal and State or Local Policy: A Comparison

In the United States (USA), as well as in Canada, Indians have historically held special rights and have been the target of social programs, principally under the supervision of the federal government, rather than of state/provincial or municipal governments. There is a progressive loss in the delivery of general services based on the special recognition of ethnic and racial categories as one moves down the scale of government levels from the federal level to the state/provincial level, to the county/township level, and finally to the municipal level. Because there are constitutional and statutory rules against the recognition of racial and ethnic categories, the reverse policy of positive discrimination has been rationalized only where there are situations of extreme need or very special legal relationships. However, both the USA and Canada step back from policies of extreme democracy and equal rights to accept the moderate democracy and special rights of a multicultural policy. We have learned that a government can crush the vitality out of life, that it can become inhumane, if it forces democratic egalitarianism to the point of complete conformity.

The Indian experience has taught North Americans a lesson in cultural relativity and a sensitivity towards the worth of minority values. Indian rights and programs have been distinguished in that this one racial group has been systematically given positive support for almost a century by the federal governments of Canada and the USA. At the same time, states and provinces have often fought against what they saw as intrusions of the federal government into state/provincial rights. The private 'governments' of the Indian societies that see themselves as sovereign nations also disagree over the division of powers and jurisdictions among themselves and the 'public' or federal, state/provincial, and local governments of the majority society.

The modern position of the American Institute for the Development of Indian Law balances the values of equal treatment before the law with the special rights of Indians. The Institute maintains that Indians do not receive special services as individuals within a racial category. That would be racism. Indians receive special services only when they belong to the sovereign nations called 'tribes' that have special legal and political relationships defined by laws and treaties. The Assembly of First Nations in Canada (formerly the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada) takes a similar stand, particularly where there are large populations of Indians, as in the Dene Nation and Inuit Tapirisat of the Northwest Territories.

In states and provinces where there are significantly large numbers of Indians, the governments have formed their own policies and programs, largely outside of the legal theories of special status and within the contexts of social welfare for a deprived minority and the enhancement of the artistic form of multiculturalism that is popular these days. Deep-seated multiculturalism, where there are genuine differences in values that evolve into political struggles, is repressed by governments.

Conflicts of Interest Within Governments

The federal governments are the trustees for Indian land and water rights, and yet they also have obligations and interests in the development and exploitation of the land and natural resources of their countries. In both countries there is a conflict of interest within governments over trusteeship, as opposed to development, of Indian lands. One obvious problem in Canada is that the Indian agency is charged with both Indian Affairs and Northern Development, when northern Indians would often like to have their lands remain relatively undeveloped. In the USA, the Department of the Interior experiences internal conflicts arising from the fact that it includes the Bureau of Indian Affairs and is responsible, as well, for administering the National Forests, the National Parks, and the Trust Territories of Micronesia. Indian politicians have long campaigned to have a separate department of Indian affairs. While they have not achieved that aim, they have managed to secure a promotion for the head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) from the status of Commissioner to that of Assistant Secretary of the Department.

The government's view of land reflects the primacy of land-trusteeship relationships with Indians. In the USA, an Indian reservation is a piece of Indian land held in federal trusteeship. In Canada, according to the Indian Act, the reserves are Crown land allocated for Indian use. It appears that American Indians have the stronger element of ownership of their land. American reservations always possess subsurface rights, while many Canadian Indians do not possess subsurface rights for the lands they live on. However, for general programs, there is no important difference between the two countries in these matters. In both countries the reservation or reserve is treated as federal land, and as long as Indians are on that federal land, they are beyond the jurisdiction of states or provinces or general municipalities.

The United States (US) Justice Department is obliged to protect

Indian rights as a part of the federal trust, but at the same time, it must defend the federal government even when Indians bring suits against that government. Thus different parts of the Justice Department may represent opposing sides in a federal court.

Federal governments are poorly prepared to behave like a state or local governments in providing the direct delivery of services, since they lack experience and expertise in local matters, as well as local offices. In addition, they often have jurisdictional conflicts with states or provinces. These conditions have led tribes into many contractual relationships with states, counties and muncipalities in regard to such matters as police, jurisdictions and taxation. For example, there are agreements in the USA to cross-deputize tribal and state law-enforcement officers so that each group may have jurisdiction in the other's territory.

Land Policies

I see no practical purpose within the period of conquest and colonization of British North America for land-cession treaties. Such treaties were not generally used by other empire builders or in other places in the world, particularly in relations with band and tribal societies. Their purposes were internal to British society: these treaties delivered a message of validity and legitimization of the conquest to the British people themselves; they were necessary to that end because of that nation's strong sense of legality and the need to rationalize conquests. However, the Canadians and Americans became locked into this British legal tradition, with its legal logic that all occupied lands should be formally ceded. Where cessions were not made or complete payments not fulfilled, the result has been a century of land-claim cases.

The Dawes Act of 1887 allowed the President of the USA to allot reservation lands to individual Indians. This was at a time when the assimilation of Indians was strongly favoured by American policy in Indian schools, Christian missionaries, and the encouragement of farming. The

Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 briefly shifted that policy orientation. It was designed to slow down the processes of forced assimilation and provide a more humane policy, to stop the alienation of Indian lands by alloting pieces of reservations to individuals, and to encourage the self-government and enterprises of communities. For about ten years, federal policy moved a long step away from the direction of assimilation. After World War II, however, federal policies began to shift back towards assimilation and termination of treaties. Essentially, it is only in the 1930s and the 1970s that there have been decade-long swings away from assimilationist policies towards a tolerance of Indian cultures.

The Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946 established a process to clear up all old land claims. By 1976 and the end of the Commission's term, only about $560 million (US) had been awarded, a very small sum when we consider the large number of people who had to share those awards, the usually lengthy pay-off period, and the rights that were lost to the beneficiaries.

As one author has pointed out,[1] the US Indian Claims Commission began simply to compensate Indians for the difference between the assessed value of their land at the time that it was taken from them and the cash value of money, goods and services that they had received since that time. At the time that the land was taken from the Indians, generally in the 1800s, it was usually worth, according to the Commission's evaluation, several cents an acre as frontier range or farming land. The Indians, on the other hand, usually had grandiose ideas about the amount of compensation they would receive. Awards amounting to millions of dollars were made, but charged against those awards were some of the government's expenses relating to the Indians over the years. The awards were used for tribal projects or paid out to the large numbers of tribal members over years of time.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act[2] was passed in 1971. It allocated $962.5 million to Alaskan Natives over eleven years, and assured them fee title to 40 000 000 acres of land. Each of the more than two hundred Native-village corporations received between 23 000 and 161 000 acres. Twelve large corporations were created by regions within Alaska, and one was created for Alaskan Natives living outside Alaska. These corporations were charged with land use and development and were made exempt from state and local taxes until 1991.[3]

In other land settlements, the Menominee Tribe regained the federal trust relationship in 1973.[4] The Submarginal Land Act Amendments of 1975[5] returned 480 000 acres of submarginal lands to some eighteen tribes. These are lands within reservations that had been claimed in 1933 by the US Bureau of Reclamation, for improvements to be made, supposedly, for the benefit of the Indians.

Canada began a policy of land-cession treaties prior to the large-scale settlement of Indian territory by European immigrants. This is related to the later settlement of Canada west of Quebec. The Alaskan settlement in the USA and the James Bay Agreement are both essentially treaties. One important difference between these modern treaties and those of the colonization period is that extensive negotiations by both sides in the later ones were involved.

Land-claims suits against the government seem to have been started about the same time, that is, in the 1800s, in both countries. These suits were resisted longer and more effectively in Canada than in the USA. The latter country responded by expanding reservations, by giving Indians homestead lands and individual allotments and, finally, since the 1950s, by paying settlements. In Canada land settlements have been made in the 1970s and will continue to be made in the 1980s.

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau said to the First Nations Constitutional Conference in Ottawa, in April 1980, that in the new Constitution, the Canadian government would accept its federal responsibility for and jurisdiction over Indian people, Indian lands, and Indian communities within the Canadian federation.[6] He said:

> ...the government accepted the concept of land rights accruing without treaties to the original inhabitants of this country.... [We] abandoned the idea of amending the Indian Act in ways which you believed would have led to your assimilation into the larger Canadian society.... [A] new federal policy of assisting native organizations helped to make possible the progress you have achieved.... The key to the problem is to encourage the Indian people of Canada to assume, gradually, a greater degree of control over your own affairs...while at the same time the government maintains and reaffirms the responsibility it shares with you for the well-being of the Indian people.... [I]n the 1971-72 fiscal year, only 12 per cent of the program budget of the Department of Indian Affairs was administered by Indian bands. By last year, that 12 per cent had risen to about 36 per cent.

The sale of tribal resources, particularly oil, natural gas, coal, uranium, and forest products, and the leasing of Indian land are far more important sources of revenue for Indian communities than land-claim settlements. The most important income of all currently flows from government programs. An analysis of reasons behind the land claims points more to the political renaissance of Indians as an ethnic group and to tribal nationalism than to the hope of financial returns.

In spite of massive campaigns, protests and litigation, the modern land-claims settlements in the USA have not been very important financially, except for a few tribes and the large Alaskan settlement. These awards are insignificant compared to the annual federal budget for Indian programs, running in 1980 at about two billion dollars per year for the officially recognized and principally serviced 600 000 Indians. Canada spends about one billion dollars annually for federal Indian programs for its 300 000 status Indians. Each budget is given in terms of its own national currency. The American budget in per capita terms in Canadian funds would be worth more than the Canadian equivalent: $3795 in the USA, compared to $3300 in Canada. Both governments' costs are about double those of providing the equivalent services (education, health care, and so on) to the general population, in part, because it is more expensive to deliver services to rural and bush areas than to more highly developed areas.

Indian and Tribal Rights

The Indian case for unique status comes down to aboriginal rights and treaty rights, that is, to Indian heritage as compared with the heritage of other citizens. The claims are more racial and nationalistic than those of non-Native Canadians, but Indians have compromised by working within the political idiom of law to claim special status. Indian law sometimes conflicts with civil rights laws. Indian laws include special rights and programs based on primordial land ownership, treaties and historical privileges, while civil rights laws flow from the constitutional guarantees of freedom and equality.

The need of Indians for special status because of their poverty is not argued to a great extent, except by non-Indians working for Indian causes. In fact, non-Indian liberals have usually come from a strongly democratic tradition that opposes any ascriptive status, based on the special privileges of traditional royalty and nobility and the special 'rights' of the Caucasian race. Non-Indians have usually rationalized the special status of Indians on the basis of their need for positive, catch-up discrimination, employment preferences, and other privileges due to their poverty, but not due to the Indians own racial and historical claims. The Indians use a grand, somewhat irrational, political rhetoric that seems to have served the important purpose of building a new, acceptable self-image and a common political front to oppose the Euro-Canadian political establishment.

Indian tribes show both dependence and sovereign independence. They are the only ethnic groups identified for special status in the American Constitution. Some Southwest Pueblos and the Iroquois have retained traditional features in their tribal constitutions, while most tribes follow a strictly modern pattern set by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the "War on Poverty" programs of the 1960s signalled the broadening of the program base of Indian reservations beyond the Bureau of Indian Affairs into many other federal agencies. The Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975 provided the administration within tribal governments for the tribes themselves to contract for and administer services that had previously been provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The tribes can receive assistance on the same basis as states and municipalities for such amenities as roads, schools and public transit. They can receive assistance on the same basis as private industries in the form of tax relief, research and development grants, and job-training programs.

Prior to 1850 the Indians' loss of rights to their lands and their removal from their lands were extreme and extensive measures taken in the eastern half of the USA, essentially east of the Mississippi River. The assimilation of Indian people into general American society was also widespread in the East at that time, and it accounted for the beginning of Indian urban migration and settlement. Very few of the descendants of these people, however, have been active enough in Indian ethnic associations or retain a strong enough Indian identity to be counted as Indians. Their ancestry shows up in genealogical research, in family histories, and in mild ethnic sympathies. They are the kind of assimilated urban Indians who may be counted for political purposes by Indian ethnic associations, but who count themselves as essentially non-Indian in the US census. Urban-Indian leaders rather consistently give larger population figures for the number of Indians in their cities than appear in the official census reports. There are, of course, many millions of people in North America with an Indian ancestor somewhere in their heritage, but there are only about nine hundred thousand self-identified Indians in the USA and about seven hundred thousand (including Métis and Inuit) in Canada.

Indians are the only large racial group living in poverty in Canada. Because their situation is comparable to that of the Blacks in the USA, Indians in Canada are more on the public mind and in the press in Canada than they are in the USA. The USA now has whole new sets of large immigrant groups to worry about, such as Mexicans, Cubans and Puerto Ricans, as well as some twenty-five million Blacks. The number of Blacks in the USA is larger than the entire population of Canada.

Tribal jurisdiction is essentially that of a county, township or municipality; the federal government often discharges the functions in relation to Indian tribes that for other groups of citizens are usually discharged by states. This means that the federal government is often forced to be concerned with the petty details of problems and services that are usually handled by states. This is one of the most difficult and troublesome aspects of Indian policy. The federal government has to take responsibility for international relations and the national well-being, and yet it is continually harassed by this tiny minority representing about 0.4 per cent of the national population--a minority that regularly sends delegations directly to federal agencies to complain about their day-to-day living problems. These are the kinds of minutiae that municipalities or counties, or at least states, should solve, and not the federal government. It is no wonder that there have been so many moves to terminate the special relationships of federal governments with local tribal groups.

Within the reservation boundaries, the tribes have extensive jurisdiction, making their own laws on property use, taxation and domestic matters. They can have their own police, courts and jails. Their laws even govern the conduct of non-Indians on the reservation, and tribes can remove non-members from their reservations when there is sufficient cause. They can regulate hunting, fishing and environmental protection. Federal laws apply on the reservations to felony or severe offences and may be enforced by federal marshalls or the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Hunting and fishing rights in certain customary areas were historically granted to Indians in treaties and in local practice, though these rights, as well as other special Indian privileges, belong to Indians only as tribes. Thus the members of particular tribes have the right to hunt and fish in particular places, and these rights differ according to the specific articles of the various treaties. Rules covering National Forests and National Parks, state fish and game laws, and international agreements such as fishing treaties and conventions covering the protection of migratory birds usually interfered with these customary rights and areas. The tribes have full jurisdiction on their reservations (except for the international conventions on migratory birds), but must comply with the state conservation practices outside their reservations. Moreover, these rights have usually been interpreted as related to subsistence rather than to commercial purposes. Indians, like other citizens, usually have to compete for commercial licences and quotas for hunting and fishing. One exception exists in the State of Washington, where Indians have treaty rights to about half of the fish catch. States can regulate Indians off-reservation treaty rights relating to hunting and fishing only for the purposes of conservation and cannot discriminate against Indians in other state procedures relating to hunting and fishing.

Life On and Off the Reservation

Many tribes, by their constitutions, do not extend to off-reservation Indians the same rights in regard to voting and tribal membership that they extend to tribal members living on the reservation. The tribes' specific rules usually impose some loss of rights when members move off their reserves. In addition, federal policies encourage the use of tribal income in the reservation area to produce employment, to improve living facilities, and to develop industries. Off-reservation Indians, of course, prefer per capita payments distributed to all tribal members, and this divergence of viewpoint is a common political issue for Indians.

The Indian living on the reservation has a close relationship with federal agencies, which are powerful, often well funded, relatively democratic, and free of racial discrimination. State and local agencies are more changeable, more political, more parsimonious than federal agencies, and may discriminate against members of non-Caucasian races and lower-income citizens. The Indians have come to see the federal agencies on the reservations, over the generations of their existence, as a kind of natural resource to draw upon for economic and other benefits, a part of the landscape, like a forest, that is to be exploited for survival. The Indian politician's job is often seen as organizing his people to maximize their exploitation of the government.

One problem that Indians have had in adjusting to the dominant society in the past generation or so has been that the government bureaucracy has provided them with an environment of non-competitive socialism that educates the population to live in ways that are incompatible with contemporary North American society, which is more competitive and capitalist than traditional Indian society. The move now is to introduce more capitalism into reservation life. Indians remain trustees of the federal government when they move to the city, but they lose the community-based services that they have enjoyed on the reservation. The rationalization for this policy is that the urban Indians pay taxes in their new communities and thus should be served by local agencies.

The urban migrants who left their reservations did so, in part, because they were better educated and more experienced with the world beyond the reservation and thus were less fearful of criticizing the paternalistic bureaucracy of the BIA-administered reservation. Yet, when they went to the city, they missed the full services of the Agency. The very earliest migrants were often the educated rebels of the reservations, people who had difficulty living in that closed world. Their emergence preceded the development of any urban-Indian ethnic institution. Their struggle was to work with non-Native associations and government agencies to create special facilities for migrating Native people, which, along with informal bar cliques, are usually the first urban-Indian ethnic institutions.

The continuity of Indian communities and the retention of Indian languages and traditions have depended primarily on Indian possession of rural land, usually government-held reservations. Urban Indians have generally retained their Indian traditions only when they had a rural community to return to regularly. Only in the past two decades or so have continuing urban-Indian cultures begun to flourish somewhat independently of their traditional rural roots.

In the late 1800s, off-reservation boarding-schools provided Indians with some contacts with non-Indian society and included programs by which Indian children lived in non-Indian homes to learn how to be farmers or domestics.[7] By the turn of the century, so many Indian children were attending off-reserve schools that the Indian Bureau paid a subsidy to public schools for each Indian child on its roll. This policy was formalized and extended in the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934.

From the late 1800s, many Indians became acquainted with urban life while attending boarding-schools. They often experienced conflicts on their return to the reservation, particularly with BIA personnel, who told them that they " 'did not belong on the reservations any more' ".[8] In interviews for the Meriam Report, however, the urban Indians of the 1920s showed that they were still concerned about the continuity of their rights to tribal property.

During World War II, many Indians left their reservations for military service and for work in the defense industries. After the War there was a shift toward the 'termination' of special federal services to Indians; this policy affected the Indian Claims Commission, the off-reservation job-placement or 'relocation' program, and other programs.

In 1948 the BIA started off-reservation job placement of Hopi and Navajo. In 1952 it began a general employment-relocation program to move Indians away from the reservations, where very few jobs were available. Relocation offices were established in the ten major cities of the central and western USA. Services providing urban counselling, housing, job training and job placement were all added to the program over the years; in the 1960s the program cost about four million dollars annually. About a million persons and their dependents had been relocated by 1971, including a few thousand who had used the service more than once, trying different cities. Return visiting is, of course, a world-wide pattern in urban migrations, but the pattern of returning to their reserves is stronger for Indians precisely because they have trust lands and free government services to return to.

The reserve attracts former residents because it is the 'home town', the place of old friends and relatives, the place of security, with few police, few strangers, few unknowns of any kind. It also provides free land, free medical and educational services, and usually, freedom from land taxes. Like any home town, it creates the sense of acquired 'beauty' and the sentimental feelings that one experiences in a place one knows extremely well. The negative aspect of the reserve is that for young people looking out from sheltered circumstances at an exciting world, the reserve seems to be a boring dead end. It offers few jobs, and most of those have to do with government-supported services to the community. There are also negative aspects of living in a community of relatives, friends and intimate enemies. People know one another's business and cannot keep their own concerns private. Members of the community are obligated to share any surpluses they may have, which means that savings may be considered the result of hoarding and stinginess. Drinking parties and fights occur often. Since reserves are usually located in rural or bush settings, it is difficult for the government to provide residents with urban-style conveniences and services.

The authors of one study, upon finding a number of strong non-economic motivations for the relocation of Indians staying in Spokane, Washington, recommended[9] that

> ...individuals and agencies interested in assisting Indians to migrate to the city and remain there must focus upon acculturation (preparing the Indian to perceive himself as one who belongs and who is willing to interact with whites on an intimate level) at least as strongly as upon economic factors, such as the availability of employment or training.

Most earlier studies, and the extensive research on the Navajo in Denver, in particular, had stressed a pattern of economic reasons for Indians to stay on or leave their reserves. The authors just quoted speculated that the Spokane Indians with whom they worked might differ in tribal heritage as being less strongly motivated by economic factors than the Navajo.

Another study, which focused on the patterns of return to reservations by American urban relocatees in the southern Plains, concluded[10] that "the returnee rate might be reduced by more training, a better attack on alcoholism, better health care both in the rural and urban areas, improved job counseling, and improved urban facilities, such as day-care centers." Citing the extreme problems of the Comanche and Kiowa, the authors also support the theory that Indians with a hunting heritage have more difficulty in adapting to urban life than have people with an agricultural heritage. The BIA saw the pattern of continuing to return to the reservation as representing some failure in the adaptation of Indians to modern urban life. Thus the relocation programs tended to encourage Indians to choose permanent urban settlement in more distant places. These programs paid the moving expenses involved in relocating Indian families, provided housing, and arranged a job; later they included up to two years of vocational training. When an Indian moved back to the reservation after all this, the government considered that he or she represented a measure of failure of its relocation program. This practice of evaluating the relocation programs according to the movements of individuals over a short period of time was wrong. At least half of those Indians relocated in urban jobs quit their jobs within a year or so and went back to their reservations. However, by bringing back to the reservations new information about urban orientation, they helped to urbanize their reservations. Moreover, they or their children usually went back to the city again, becoming part of that urbanizing process through which over half of the Indians in the USA live off their reservations today.

Termination of Special Legislation

Reservation politicians were usually critical of government relocation programs, which they saw as part of the larger 'termination' orientation of the government. The three main 'swear words' that Indian politicians used about the government were 'termination', 'relocation', and 'assimilation'. The reservation politicians believed that they were losing their best people to the cities, which was often true; indeed, some reservations became a collection of fatherless families on welfare and various kinds of social failures. The reservation politicians often dissuaded people from migrating to the city and encouraged those who had left to return. The nationalistic pan-Indian movement against 'assimilation' legitimized their complaints.

Indians do not wish to be told that they have been assimilated into general North American society even when objective standards such as language use, education, recreation and material possessions show that they have been so assimilated. Indeed, assimilation became such a 'motherhood' issue that, regardless of real policies, everyone--including politicians of European descent--said that they were against termination, relocation and assimilation.

Government policy is still assimilative, and once one gets beyond the political and poetic rhetoric, this seems to represent the almost unanimous desire of Indians and politicians alike. It is assimilative to encourage Indians to generate their own bureaucracies, to support formal schooling—even if one 'Indianizes' the curriculum—to develop modern medical facilities, and to industrialize their reserves.

The first termination law was Public Law 280, passed in 1953, which called for the "withdrawal of federal responsibility for Indian Affairs wherever practicable; and second, termination of the subjection of Indians to Federal laws applicable to Indians as such." In total, over a decade characterized by a strong termination policy, there were thirteen legislative acts designed ultimately to end special federal relationships with Indians.

House Concurrent Resolution 108 made public some of the termination details in 1953. It said that certain tribes and their members would be freed from federal supervision and control in California, Florida, New York and Texas; this legislation applied to the Flathead in Montana, the Klamath in Oregon, the Menominee in Wisconsin, the Potowatamie of Kansas and Nebraska, and the Turtle Mountain Chippewa in North Dakota. These specific states and tribes were selected because they were considered sufficiently acculturated that they no longer needed special services. Political rhetoric presented this development as a positive change from federal supervision to freedom, but Indians were well aware that they would be losing services and, probably, some rights. They fought back, therefore, on several fronts; the Menominee even re-established the federal trust relationship over their lands and services.

Notes

1. Nancy O. Lurie, "The Contemporary American Indian Scene", in E.B. Leacock and N.O. Lurie (ed.), *North American Indians in Historical Perspective* (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 418-80.
2. P.L. 92-208.
3. For a comparison between the Alaskan Settlement and the James Bay Agreement, see John A. Price, *Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), pp. 256-63.
4. P.L. 93-197.
5. P.L. 94-114.
6. "Prime Minister Addresses Conference", *Indian News* (May 1980), pp. 2, 8.
7. James Officer, "Federal Policy and The Urban Indian", in J.O. Waddell and O.M. Watson (ed.), *American Indian Urbanization* (Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University, Institute for the Study of Social Change, 1973), p. 3.
8. O.M. Watson, *American Indian Urbanization*, p. 5.
9. Bruce A. Chadwick and Lynn C. White, "Correlates of Length of Urban Residence Among the Spokane Indians", *Human Organization*, 32 (Spring 1973), p. 15.
10. Paul A. Brinker and Benjamin J. Taylor, "Southern Plains Indian Relocation Returnees", *Human Organization* 33 (Summer 1974), p. 139.

3: Recent Policy Changes

Civil Rights

As American citizens, by an Act of Congress passed in 1924, Indians enjoy the usual rights guaranteed by the American Constitution. However, they were also given explicit special rights in the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act.[1] That Act recognized that Indian tribes exist as self-governing political entities with certain restricted powers. The United States (US) Commission on Civil Rights (1972) prepared the *American Indian Civil Rights Handbook.*

Many years ago the United States (USA) set up tribally administered courts and police forces with a wide variety of arrangements governing employment and jurisdictions, depending on whether or not state laws apply on a given reservation. The Indian courts tend to be family courts, concerned with juvenile problems, misdemeanours and family problems. For a single offence, they cannot impose a penalty "greater than imprisonment for a term of six months or a fine of $500., or both." Unlike federal and state courts, tribal courts do not guarantee free legal services. Tribal courts must guarantee the right to a trial by a jury of six or more persons for offences that are punishable by imprisonment, but the jury need only come to a majority verdict, rather than to a unanimous verdict. In some Pueblo communities, the tribal Pueblo governor and the tribal council sit as the court. The American government does not represent Indians in criminal courts.

American courts have usually held that the Constitution does not have jurisdiction between members of the same tribe when they live in a tribal context on reservations. This view necessitated a restating of the constitutional guarantees of individual rights in a special Indian Bill of Rights in 1968. Indian tribes must guarantee freedom of religion, speech, the press, assembly, and petitioning the government; security of persons and houses; non-existence of double jeopardy; no compulsion of a person to witness against himself; no seizure of private property without just compensation. However, there are still certain subtle legal differences between Indians and non-Indians in the USA. Differences exist in the following areas:

- Tribal courts constitute a system separate from the federal courts. This means that a person may be tried in each system for the same crime without undergoing double jeopardy.
- Tribes are not required to select their leaders by election, but may use traditional kinship and religious criteria.
- The Indian Bill of Rights does not stipulate the separation of church and state in tribal governments. Thus a tribe may support a religion. However, tribes may not interfere with the individual right of members to follow religious practices different from those of the majority of their members.
- The right to express a culture or taste in dress and appearance is protected so that Indians may wear long hair and traditional clothing. Court cases have verified this for schools, in the work place, in various off-reservation situations, and even in prisons.

- The old state laws that discriminated against Indians have been repealed or overruled. These laws provided for separate schools, limited voting privileges and marriage according to Indian customs; they prevented Indians from serving on juries, and forbade them to purchase liquor or firearms. Indians have a right to vote in federal, state and local elections. Voting may not be taxed nor restricted by literacy tests.
- All federal agencies must provide equal employment opportunities, except the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Indian Health Service, which are required by law to give employment *Preference* to Indian applicants at all pay levels. An 'Indian' is defined for this purpose as someone whose biological heritage is one-fourth or more Indian; the definition depends on racial extraction, and that extraction must be proved. BIA labour contracts usually contain a clause establishing a policy of pro-Indian racial discrimination for hiring. Indian tribes may legally discriminate against non-Indians and hire Indians for tribal jobs. Even non-Indian businesses on or near reservations may offer preferential employment to Indians.
- States may not discriminate against Indians in the provision of services, such as schools, on the basis of their race, their economic status, *or the tax-exempt status of their land.* In the past, states and counties have widely used that status as a rationalization for the exclusion of Indians from certain services and non-provision of services to them, but the federal government has declared these practices illegal.
- Indians may vote for school boards and in school-board elections, even though they do not own property within the school district.
- An Indian's rights are violated if he is indicted by a grand jury in which Indian members are omitted by intention or by a discriminatory selection process.

States may assume jurisdiction over criminal and civil offences in Indian country with the consent of the Indian involved. This shift in jurisdiction does not authorize the alienation or taxation of Indian trust lands or waters, and it does not deprive Indians of their hunting, trapping and fishing rights. States may also give these criminal and civil jurisdictions back to the tribes, a so-called 'retrocession'.

American Indians in prisons have some special rights: they may dress in Indian style, wear their hair long, and receive the services of Indian religious leaders.

Federal museums are encouraged to return to their tribes of origin religious objects that have been wrongfully acquired. Moreover the museums are asked to seek guidance from tribal religious leaders on the exhibition and storage of sacred objects rightfully in their possession.

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 requires federal agencies to respect the customs, ceremonies, and traditions of Native American religions. This affects such practices as customs' inspections, at international borders, of religious paraphernalia, including the generally prohibited eagle feathers, and land and resource planning, particularly in relation to traditionally sacred areas. The Blue Lake area, for instance, was returned to Taos Pueblo because of its traditional sacred use.

Eligibility for Indian Services Off Reserves

When government services or land-claim settlements are very desirable, the numbers of people claiming eligibility have often become quite inflated, and marginally entitled people have been included. In American reservation contexts, the definition of eligibility has been allowed to vary, and its determination was left up to the local tribal governments. This practice has resulted in a legal definition of an 'Indian' based on racial heritage. Traditional systems of lineal descent were ignored, and a bilateral accumulation of one-quarter or more biological heritage in the tribe was usually adopted in forming the first tribal roll. Later any child of a tribal member could be added to the roll.

In Canada, where the Indian population is six times greater than in the USA as a proportion of the total population, the definition of an 'Indian' has been more strictly limited and is controlled directly by the federal government. Thus, in Canada, there are hundreds of thousands of people with a significant Indian heritage who have been legally defined as 'non-Indian' and so make little or nothing of the Indian side of their heritage. If these people lived in the USA, that Indian heritage would be more important to them because of the wider variety of programs for Indians in that country. It is easy to see, then, that government programs can help to generate ethnicity.

When Native people live off their reserves, more universal definitions have been needed to identify those eligible for the various government programs. The five criteria usually used in considering eligibility for Indian programs in the USA are, in order of their importance:

- A significant degree of Indian ancestry
- Self-identification
- Community membership
- Cultural behaviour
- Language retention.

Of course, the programs also have specific criteria related to their purposes, such as business management, employment, health or housing.

The American Indian Policy Review Commission

The long history of shifting Indian policies within the USA has been based largely on political considerations and on feedback from within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service. Two major exceptions were the Meriam Report of 1982 and a research report published in 1966.[2]

Outside policy research on American Indians has been done primarily by applied anthropologists and reported in *Human Organization.* The most important *recent* work, that done by the Indian Policy Review Commission of 1975-76, was based on applied anthropology, was done largely by Indians themselves, and was sponsored directly by the Indian Affairs establishment within the US federal government. It was similar to earlier reviews in that it attempted to be comprehensive and in that it entailed political involvement and had political implications. It was different in that it was produced by Indians who have become educated and effective as politicians and bureaucrats.

The American Indian Policy Review Commission undertook a two-year, $2.5-million study commissioned by Congress in 1975. It defined the American government's trust relationship toward the Indian tribes as the core of Indian/non-Indian relationships. These trust responsibilities pertain to land, self-government, and to social, medical and educational services. The federal government's responsibility is primarily to the legally constituted tribes, and individuals are legally 'Indians' and benefit by these rights and services only as members of a federally recognized tribe. Fears of the termination of these responsibilities were so great among Indians that Congress was forced to shift to its current policy of 'self-determination without termination'. The Commission established subordinate task forces to deal with major policy themes, such as education and urban adjustment. These task forces forced Native leaders to clarify Indian social problems in terms of legislative and administratives solutions. Of course, many complaints exist that cannot be corrected by the actions of governments.

Child Welfare

The US Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 was passed primarily to stop the 'abduction' of Native children by social agencies.[3] In states with large

Native populations, one-quarter to one-third of the Indian children were being taken away from their families and placed in foster homes, adoptive homes, and youth-detention centres.

The Act ensures that:

- No foster placements may be ordered unless there is clear evidence that continued parental custody is likely to result in serious emotional or physical damage to a child.
- The family will be given a hearing on the placement of their child.
- An indigent parent or Indian guardian will have a right to a court-appointed counsel in the proceedings.
- The hearing will take place in the tribal court appropriate to the child, upon petition of the parents or the tribe.
- First preference for placement will be given to members of the child's extended family.
- Second preference for placement will be given to homes maintained by Indian people or tribes.
- Even adopted children have a continuing right to their tribal membership and to the benefits associated with that membership.

At the request of the children's parents, tribal courts may ask state courts to recover Indian children lost to non-Indian social agencies.

In a similar way, the Supreme Court of Canada, in 1975, decided that Native children with status rights retain those rights even when they are adopted. Adopting parents thus have an obligation to inform the child of its Indian rights. Generally, however, at the time of writing, Indian child-welfare policies in Canada still allowed for widespread placement of Indian children by non-Indian social agencies. In 1974, 71 per cent of the 365 adoptions of status-Indian children in Canada were undertaken by non-Indian people, according to a study of the problem made by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND).

The US Indian Education Act of 1972 provides special help with education, even for scattered urban Indians if the Indian child has a grandparent who is a functioning member of an Indian community. Even so, the numbers of children and young people in these programs are inflated by stretching the usual criteria for eligibility in certain states, such as Oklahoma, California, and Michigan, and among certain tribal groups, such as Wyandotte (now living in Oklahoma, but originally from Canada) and Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole, all of whom originated in the Southeast).

Indian Burial Sites

State laws usually protect Indian burial sites when they are publicly recognized as grave sites, rather than scattered and random early burials. Excavators are required to notify public-health and police authorities when they discover a human skeleton and must receive permission to continue the excavation. Laws pertaining to antiquities also require that archaeological excavators meet some standards, that careful records be kept of archaeological excavations, and that some archaeological finds be preserved in public museums. Guidelines have been developed on the treatment of Indian burial sites, based on a review of judicial, legislative and archaeological practices.[4] Where a group of Indians can demonstrate a significant historical connection between their tribe and a number of burials, they should be given control over the remains and allowed to remove them if the property owner wishes to make some other use of the land. The removal itself should be conducted jointly by the interested Indians and archaeologists; the latter should be allowed "to make records of the removal but should receive permission from the Indians before analyzing the human remains." Archaeologists also have an obligation to demonstrate the value to history and science of analysing specific remains, rather than making pictures or casts of the remains or of similar remains already in existing collections.

Taxation

Indians are subject, as individuals, to the same federal income and inheritance taxes as other Americans, but are usually exempt from state taxes on *reservation* property, income, or sales.[5] Indians may pay property taxes levied by their own tribes, and they pay taxes on property held and income and purchases made off the reservation. Indian tribes, as corporate bodies, have a reduced-tax status for federal and state taxes. Tribes may pay federal and state excise taxes, and their business corporations are generally treated like other business corporations for income-tax purposes. For instance, the Supreme Court upheld the right of the State of New Mexico to tax an off-reservation ski resort that was owned by the Mescalero Apaches. 'Trust' lands and income derived directly from those lands, however, are not taxed by federal or state governments. States where federal termination did proceed in the 1950s and 1960s found in the courts that Indian trust lands held by Indians still maintained their trust status and could not be taxed as state property or under state inheritance taxes. The states acquired much greater jurisdiction over criminal and civil law proceedings in trust-land areas, but the tax-free trust-land status itself remained as long as Indians continued to hold the land. Some categories of Indian trust lands are privately owned. When these lands pass by inheritance to a non-Indian, they lose their trust status and become taxable by local governments.

Trust funds, accumulated from the use of Indian resources can be used to buy Indian homestead land, which remains exempt from taxation, but the purchase of taxable lands with tribal funds does not remove those lands from the tax rolls. When Indians sell easements for such developments as pipelines and telephone lines, the sale does not eliminate the tax-exempt status of that land.

Non-Indian businesses which lease Indian land pay property taxes to the tribes and income taxes to the state. Indians who work in a non-Indian business on their own tribal land do not pay state income taxes. However, state excise taxes, usually levied on such goods as cigarettes and liquor, must be paid on goods sold on reservations.

Reservations lost their authority to exclude state excise taxes because of their tribes' inability to restrict sales of tax-free items to Indians. Real property transactions are much easier to control, but sales and taxation of small and common articles become difficult to regulate, particularly on small reservations where non-Indians come and go easily, and where a high taxation rate applies to items such as liquor and tobacco. Differences in sales and tax regulations would be even more difficult to maintain in Canada because Indian reserves in Canada are, on the average, much smaller than those in the USA.

Indians tribes have rights to tax non-Indians who live, work or buy goods on Indian reservations, just as states have rights to tax Indians who live, work or buy goods off their reservations. Since taxes are lower, or even non-existent, on reservations, taxation laws have a bearing on where Indians choose to live, work or buy goods.

Notes

1. P.L. 90-284.
2. William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle (ed.), *The Indian: America's Unfinished Business* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966).
3. See Association on American Indian Affairs, *Indian Family Defense*, No. 11 (New York: The Association, 1979).
4. Lawrence Rosen, "The Excavation of American Indian Burial Sites: A Problem in Law and Professional Responsibility", *American Anthropologist*, 82 (March 1980): 5-27.
5. Jay V. White, *Taxing Those They Found Here: An Examination of the Tax Exempt Status of the American Indian* (Albuquerque, New

Mexico: University of New Mexico, Institute for the Development of Indian Law, 1972).

4: Federal Bureaucracy

Indian Policy and Program Units Within the American Government

American government units responsible for formulating policy and administering programs relating to Indians are charted below. The Judicial Branch includes the US Court of Claims. The Legislative Branch includes the House of Representatives and the Senate and the bodies answerable, directly or indirectly, to them. Figure 4:1, sets out the relationship of these bodies.

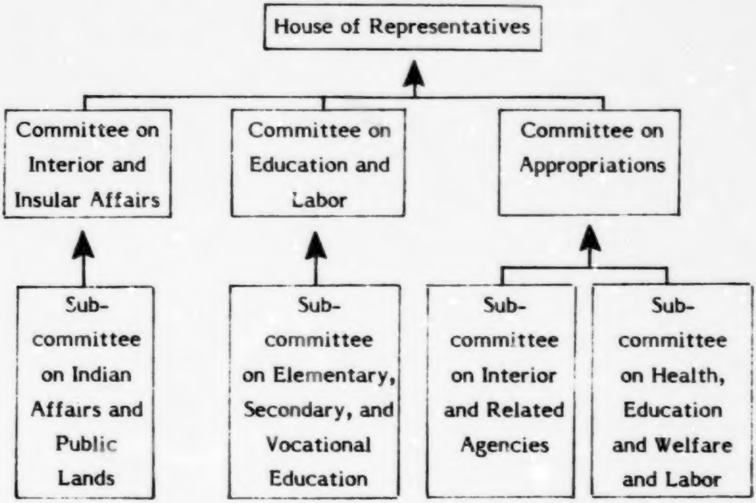
Independent Federal Agencies

The American government's Executive Branch includes a number of independent federal agencies, as well as various executive departments. The various independent agencies relating to American Indians are charted, below, in Figure 4:2.

Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) is a domestic Peace Corps that includes Indian communities in its sites of activity. Its projects are initiated by tribal councils, which use volunteers to work for one year; the volunteers receive just their food, lodging and living expenses.

Figure 4:1

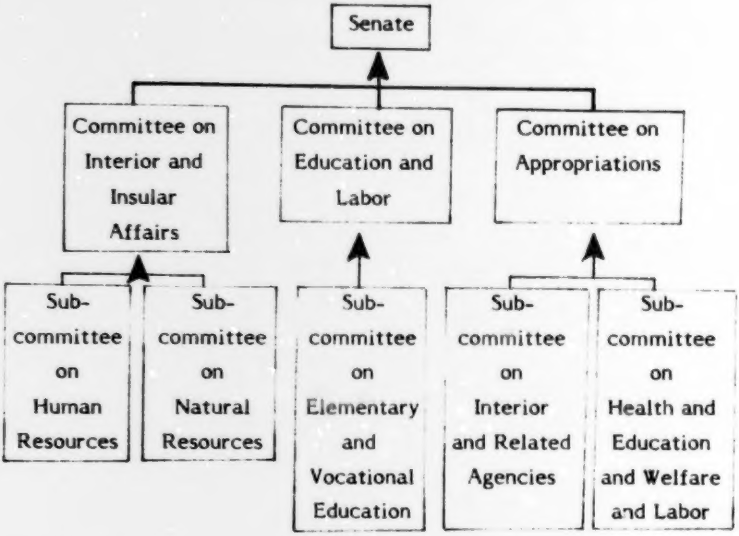
Legislative Branch


House of Representatives
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs
Committee on Education and Labor
Committee on Appropriations
Subcommittee on Indian Affairs and Public Lands
Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education
Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies
Subcommittee on Health, Education and Welfare and Labor

The Office of Federal Activities co-ordinates and explains federal programs. Indian Liaison Officers work out of this Office in such areas as the regional offices of the Environmental Protection Agency.

The Civil Service Commission administers the federal employment system. It can provide tribes with grants to improve their training and handling of personnel, distribute government personnel among federal agencies in order to solve Indian problems, and provide technical assistance with personnel problems. Indians are given preference in employment in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and in the Indian Health Service.

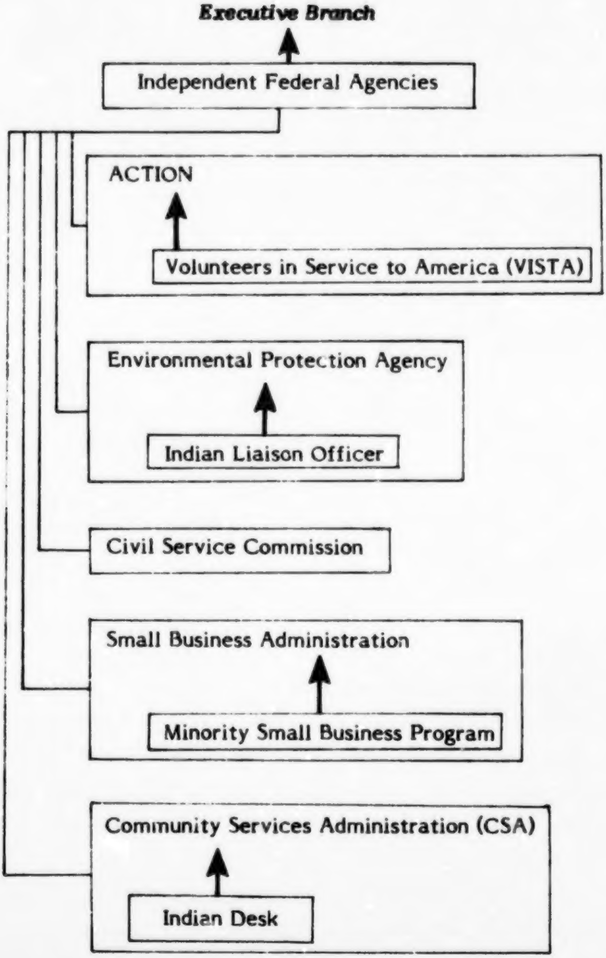
of the American Government


Senate
Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs
Committee on Education and Labor
Committee on Appropriations
Sub-committee on Human Resources
Sub-committee on Natural Resources
Sub-committee on Elementary and Vocational Education
Sub-committee on Interior and Related Agencies
Sub-committee on Health and Education and Welfare and Labor

The Office of Small Business Administration operates a Minority Small Business Program that can help Indians to establish and operate their own businesses. However there are more important programs in the Department of Commerce, where there is a special 'Indian Desk' and an Office of Minority Business Enterprises to facilitate loans and provide expert advice to Indians engaged in business. In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has a Division of Indian Business Enterprise responsible to its Office of Tribal Resources Development.

In 1974 the Community Services Administration succeeded the "War on Poverty" programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). The

Figure 4:2


Executive Branch
Independent Federal Agencies
ACTION
Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)
Environmental Protection Agency
Indian Liaison Officer
Civil Service Commission
Small Business Administration
Minority Small Business Program
Community Services Administration (CSA)
Indian Desk

OEO was very important to Indians because it provided a broad range of programs outside the colonial style of bureaucracy that pervaded the Bureau of Indian Affairs until the 1960s. Now that so many federal agencies have programs for Indians, it has been necessary to create 'Indian Desks' for special advocacy, program design and co-ordination of agencies.

The Community Services Administration (CSA) now has several areas of work: Local Initiatives; Training and Technical Assistance; State Economic Opportunity Offices; Community Economic Development, and the office that assists with the creation of community-development corporations; Senior Opportunity Offices, to assist the elderly poor; Emergency Food and Medical Service, to eliminate hunger and malnutrition among the poor; Energy Conservation Administration, to provide cheaper energy and assist the poor to insulate their homes; and National Summer Youth Sports, a program that during the summers provides activities for disadvantaged young people in college and university facilities.

Only the Departments of State and Defense have no Indian programs. Thus ten of the twelve departments of the Executive Branch of the federal government offer special services or have special relationships with Indians. Indian Desks and liaison offices have sometimes grown to provide very important positions, administering budgets in the tens of millions of dollars. Usually all Indians are eligible for these services, and the Desks do not distinguish among reservation, rural and urban Indians. This inclusive definition of Indians eligible for services generally gained acceptance in the late 1960s and 1970s, after the War on Poverty forced the broadening of service programs. Before that period, Indians were usually treated as Indians only by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service, and the services of these bodies were available only in and near Indian reservations. When an Indian left the vicinity of the reservation, he was usually treated like any other citizen, although state and municipal authorities have historically been reluctant to deliver social services to people who did not pay state or local taxes, and whom they considered to be wards of the federal government.

Executive Departments

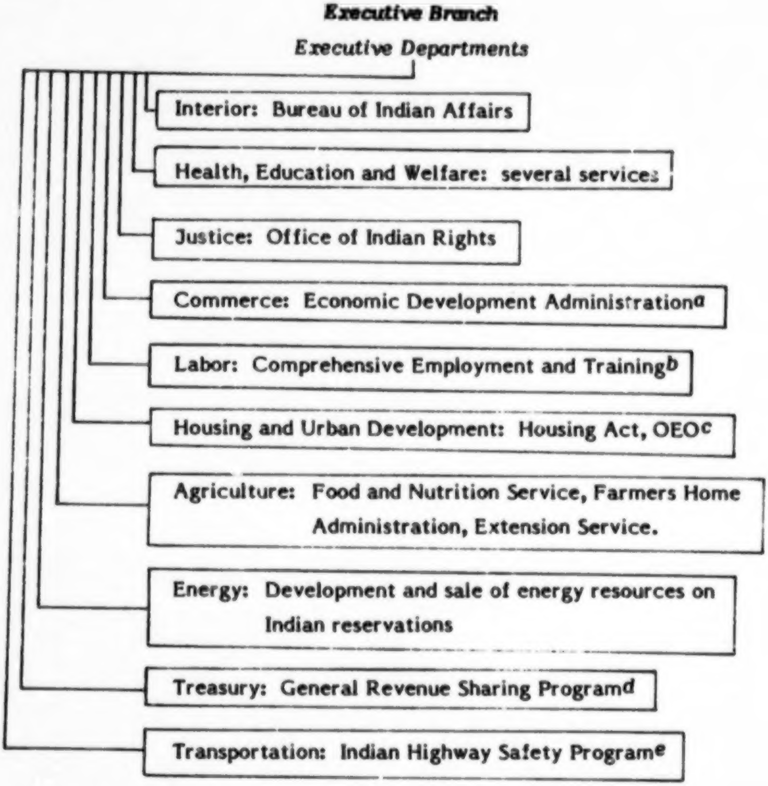
Figure 4:3 charts the various executive departments that, along with a number of independent agencies, are part of the American government's executive branch.

The Department of the Interior, through its Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), has responsibilities for American relations with Indians and Alaskan Natives. The Bureau sees to the routine maintenance of health care, education and relief of poverty. In addition, its goals are to encourage and train Indians to manage their own affairs under a trust relationship with the federal government; to facilitate the full development of Indian communities' human and natural-resource potentials; and to mobilize aids to the advancement of Indians.

The BIA has three levels of administration: the central office directed by the Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, twelve regional offices, and eighty-two local-agency offices. There are nine divisions represented at each level, including administration, congressional and legislative affairs, policy planning, public information, and education. (See Figure 4:4.)

The *Bureau of Indian Affairs Manual* contains both the internal regulations of the BIA and the regulations about Indians that affect the general population. The budget process within the BIA now moves from the central office to the area offices and then to the agencies, where local budgets are discussed with tribal governments. Local Indian governments carry out 'band analyses' in which they rate specific

Figure 4:3


Executive Branch
Executive Departments
Interior: Bureau of Indian Affairs
Health, Education and Welfare: several services
Justice: Office of Indian Rights
Commerce: Economic Development Administration[a]
Labor: Comprehensive Employment and Training[b]
Housing and Urban Development: Housing Act, OEO[c]
Agriculture: Food and Nutrition Service, Farmers Home Administration, Extension Service.
Energy: Development and sale of energy resources on Indian reservations
Treasury: General Revenue Sharing Program[d]
Transportation: Indian Highway Safety Program[e]

Notes

a. $14 million spent on Indian programs in 1977.

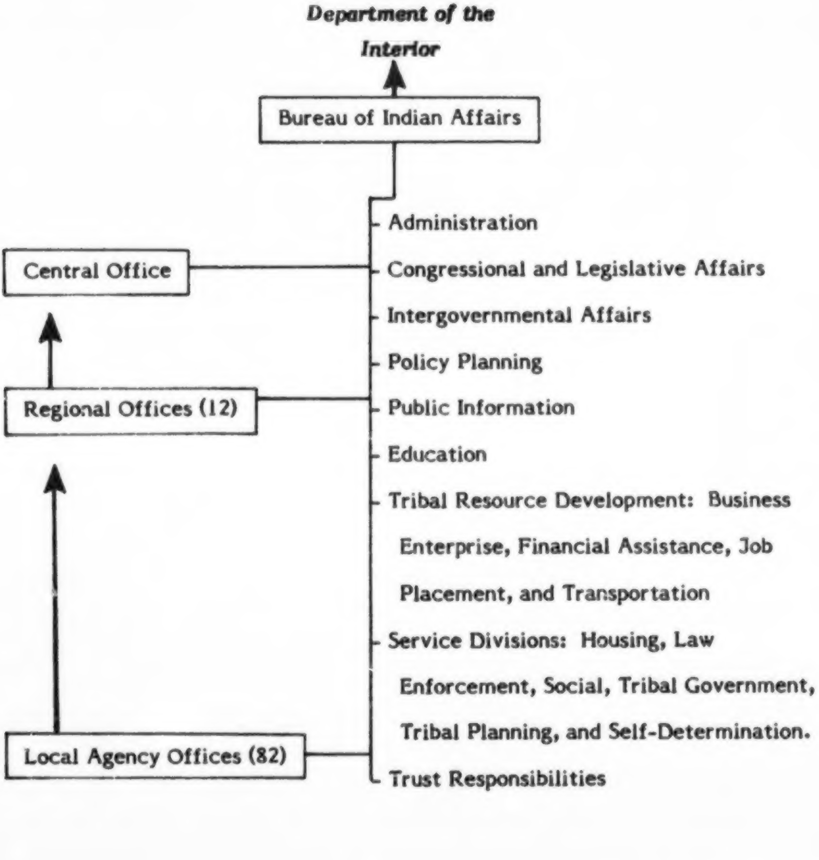
b. $128 million spent on Indians in 1977.

c. $53 million spent on Indians by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in 1974.

d. $9.5 million spent on Indian programs in 1978.

e. $67 000 spent in 1976.

Figure 4:4


Department of the Interior
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Central Office
Regional Offices (12)
Local Agency Offices (82)
Administration
Congressional and Legislative Affairs
Intergovernmental Affairs
Policy Planning
Public Information
Education
Tribal Resource Development: Business Enterprise, Financial Assistance, Job Placement, and Transportation
Service Divisions: Housing, Law Enforcement, Social, Tribal Government, Tribal Planning, and Self-Determination.
Trust Responsibilities

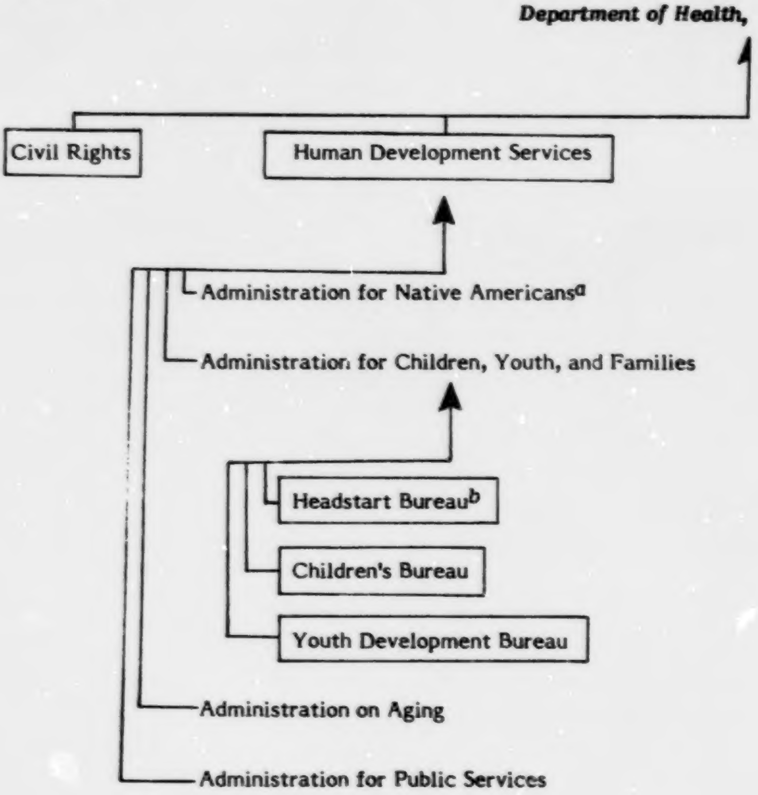
programs. Then the budgets are sent back up the system, and various items finally receive Congressional modification, rejection or approval in the President's budget proposals.

All of the service divisions within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are important to Indians. These consist of Civil Rights, Human Development, Public Health, Health Care Financing Administration (Medicare and Medicaid), Social Security, and Education. (See Figure 4:5.)

The most important division, in terms of budget, is education because it administers the federal school system for Indians and arranges for Indian education in off-reservation public and private schools. The Office of Indian Education administers grants to agencies in special and adult education. The Bureau of School Systems administers Elementary and Secondary Education programs, which affect Indian children in both public and BIA schools. The Johnson-O'Malley program arranges for the BIA to give monies to states, certain school districts, and Indian organizations, in order to meet the special needs of Indian children in *public* schools. The National School Lunch Program provided school lunches for children from poor families, without drawing special public attention to those children through arranging different meal times, separate facilities or special serving lines. The Office of Indian Education Programs has sections on cultural studies; planning and program development; elementary and secondary education; post-secondary education; and the Indian Education Resource Center. The administration of this Center is considered to belong to the same administrative category as research, evaluation and audio-visual services.

Within the division of Human Development, there is the Administration for Native Americans, as well as the Administration for Children, Youth and Families, which has three bureaus: Headstart, which covers the first five years of a child's life; Children's Bureau, which

Figure 4:5

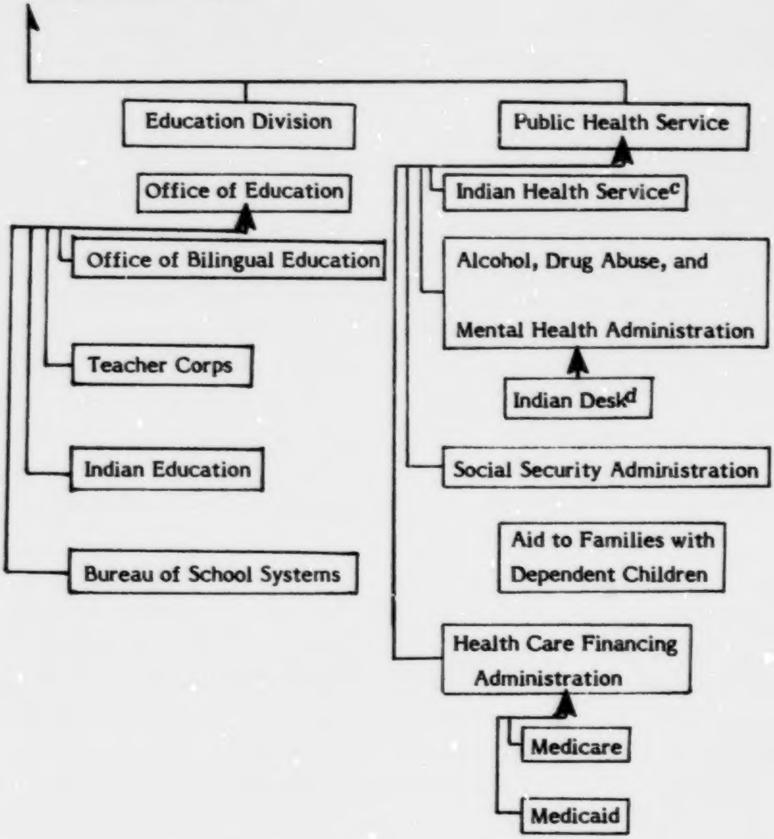

Department of Health,
Civil Rights
Human Development Services
Administration for Native Americans[a]
Administration for Children, Youth, and Families
Headstart Bureau[b]
Children's Bureau
Youth Development Bureau
Administration on Aging
Administration for Public Services

Notes

a. $33 million U.S. spent in 1977, including $5.2 million for urban centres.

b. $11.4 million spent on Indians and migrants in 1977.

Education and Welfare


Education Division
Public Health Service
Office of Education
Indian Health Service[c]
Office of Bilingual Education
Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration
Teacher Corps
Indian Desk[d]
Indian Education
Social Security Administration
Aid to Families with Dependent Children
Bureau of School Systems
Health Care Financing Administration
Medicare
Medicaid

c. $423 million in 1977.

d. $55.5 million spent in 1977 on 148 grants, one quarter to urban centres.

administers Child Welfare grants to states; and Youth Development, which works with youth organizations and has a program to assist runaways.

The Indian Health Service is within the Public Health Service and provides medical services, hospital care, and preventive and rehabilitative systems of health services. It is also concerned about communicable diseases, water supply and waste disposal, and health-care training. Unlike the other Health, Education and Welfare agencies, it uses the BIA's definition of 'Indian' (derived from the collective constitutions and tribal rolls of the recognized Indian bands and tribes) to limit its services to the 600 000 individuals who are named on tribal rolls, and who live in the service area of a direct-care facility on or near a reservation.

The Aid to Families with Dependent Children within the Social Security Administration has long been an important source of funds to low-income Indian families. It operates through state agencies with a 'matching' formula. Other programs in this division of administration provide Disability Insurance; Retirement and Survivors Insurance; Supplemental Security Income for the aged, blind and disabled; and the Child Support Enforcement, which assists states to locate absent parents and obtain child-support payments.

Within the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation becomes involved when federal crimes are committed on Indian Trust land. This department also has a Land and Natural Resources Division, which represents the United States (USA) in civil litigation, other than civil rights cases, involving Indians or the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Community Relations Service intervenes to "defuse situations of tension or conflict arising from inequalities of discrimination based on race, color or national origin." The Office of Indian Rights within the Justice Department handles the civil rights problems of Indians, although it tends not to assert its jurisdiction when civil rights violations have criminal implications.

Within the Department of Commerce, the Economic Development Administration has an 'Indian Desk' that helps reservations achieve economic growth through such construction as facilities for industrial parks, training schools, tourism and recreation. There is also a small Office of Minority Business Enterprises in the Department of Commerce.

Within the Department of Labor, there is the Comprehensive Employment and Training Administration, which has been administering a special program to train and employ Indians and to advance the development of Indian communities. This agency is noted for its efficiency among Indians because it delivered 85 per cent of its Indian funds directly to tribal and off-reservation Indian communities.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development works with the housing authorities of 128 tribes to administer housing-construction and -improvement programs. Tribes may qualify as public housing agencies for low-income loans for housing-development projects and planning grants.

The Department of Agriculture has three programs that are of particular interest to Indians: Farmers Home Administration, which can provide loans to Indian groups and corporations and has a rural development service; Extension Service, which provides advice by university faculty on farming, ranching, home economics, consumer education, and youth development; and Food and Nutrition Service, which runs a Food Stamp Program and a Food Distribution Program.

Indian reservations, with their 55 million acres of Trust land, possess a significant share of the country's energy resources, particularly uranium and coal. For this reason they have to deal with the new Department of Energy.

Indian Reservations are now drawing on the General Revenue Sharing Program of the Department of Treasury.

There is a small Indian Highway Safety Program within the Department of Transportation.

One strategy that provides an alternative to termination of the special status of Indians has been to 'Indianize' government agencies, schools and medical facilities. Thus, by 1974, some 62 per cent of the BIA's employees were of Indian ancestry. A more important strategy, however, has become that of transferring power to band and tribal governments.

American government policies have shifted, over the long history of Indian/non-Indian relations, from different local expediencies that ranged from extermination, displacement, or enclaving and simple maintenance on reservations, through various strategies of assimilation and termination of special status and services, to the present policy of 'self-determination'. There are now staff members concerned with establishing 'self-determination' in every office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In 1976 the American Indian Policy Review Commission found that the BIA's administration costs were inordinately high. It was estimated that from 78 to 90 per cent of the BIA's budget was spent on administration for management, personnel and plant costs. The Commission found widespread duplication of functions, little long-range planning, poor communication between levels within the Bureau, few performance standards for key positions, and poor employee attitudes and morale. The Commission's view that the BIA was essentially merely a self-centred and self-perpetuating bureaucracy has been an important factor in promoting the shift in American policy towards Indian self-determination and the diffusion of functions and funds among local Indian governments.

5: The United States and Canada: A Comparison

The Governments and Their Policies

The American and Canadian *systems* of government are quite different, particularly in the degree of separation that exists between the executive and legislative branches of government; the separation between those branches is much wider in the United States (USA) than in Canada. In Canada the Ministers of the executive departments of government are also elected legislators. This means that Indian policy in Canada is subject to shifting political climates and federal Cabinet decisions to a greater degree than is Indian policy in the USA. American Indian policy is much more explicit and more statutory than is Canadian Indian policy. Thus it takes several volumes to inscribe all the federal Indian laws of the USA, while the Indian Act of Canada is contained in a small booklet. This means that the Canadian Ministries have more latitude of action than do American bureaucracies. This difference is not just the result of the two styles of government. For example, the American government has a history of greater appreciation of the unique problems of individual Indian societies than has Canada, which has tended to treat all Indians alike, as if its fifty aboriginal societies were culturally homogeneous. Thus many American laws relate to the special problems of single Indian societies.

American Indian policy is guided more than its Canadian counterpart by a large body of statutes, bureaucratic procedures, and judicial decisions. The Ministry of Indian Affairs in Canada is assigned to a Cabinet Minister simply as a political act, principally by the Prime Minister. Thus people who know nothing about Indian Affairs are routinely appointed to the post of Minister of Indian Affairs, and they usually advance in a year or so to a 'better' Ministry. Indian Affairs is considered to be one of the worst Ministry assignments because it has a heavy work-load, a great many problems, and a constituency particularly given to complaining.

In the USA the appointment of the head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is a less important, a more specialized, and a longer-lasting assignment. It is political to the extent that the appointee is at least not clearly allied with the government's opposition party, and that in the last decade, the appointee has been an Indian. In Canada, by contrast, an Indian has never been put in charge of Indian Affairs, in part because only four Natives have ever been elected as Members of Parliament. Indians have been represented to a much greater degree in the American Congress, and one even became a Vice-President of the USA.

Treaties with the Indians

The same sort of difference applies in the number of treaties struck between both countries and the Indian tribes they include. The USA made 370 treaties with Indians between 1778 and 1868; after the latter date, land-cession arrangements were no longer called 'treaties'. In 1871 Congress officially stopped dealing with Indians through treaties, shifted to relationships defined by statute laws, declared that Indians were not separate from the USA, and reaffirmed Indian rights based on treaties then in force. In areas not covered by treaties, the American courts have generally made land-claim settlements with the Indians based on the value of the land at the time that the land was effectively taken from the Indians: compensation for land in California, for instance, was based on its value in 1859, and compensation for land in Nevada on its value in 1869. The awards have thus been quite small because the land was worth only pennies an acre at the time.

The British in Canada and the Canadian government have made only a couple of dozen treaties with Indian tribes. Several treaties were made in southern Ontario between 1781 and 1857; the Lake Huron and Lake Superior treaties were concluded in 1850, and the Vancouver Island treaties between 1850 and 1854; eleven more large regions came under treaties between 1871 and 1921; another Ontario treaty was struck in 1923, and the James Bay Agreement was reached in 1975.

While the Americans have been very closely involved with, and highly manipulative about, Indians and Indian lands and resources through laws and treaties, the British and British Canadians, in their policies and administration relating to Indians, have been more distant socially, more practising of segregation, more colonially minded in the use of non-Indian personnel to supervise Indians in Indian communities, and more uniform --and thus less tolerant--in their treatment of cultural differences.

The lists of first or 'landmark' occurrences and their dates, given in Appendix B, below, tend to show that the urbanization and acculturation processes among Canadian Indians have lagged behind those of the USA so that Canadian policies, as well, have lagged behind American policies. In many instances, there has been a clear cultural diffusion from the USA to Canada, with a median lag of about ten years in Native cultural traits and about twenty years in government policies.

Conclusions

Both American and Canadian governments tend to have little understanding of Indian peoples and the problems they are experiencing. This fact seems to stem primarily from the radically different kind of aboriginal heritage possessed by Indians, on the one hand, and the national heritage of the rest of society, on the other hand; the situation is further polarized by the Indians' more recent heritage as colonial subjects in the segregated enclaves of the reservations. The Canadian government could improve its policies by designing them to be more flexible in filling the diverse needs of the various Native societies. Canadian government agencies should learn from the American experiences because a parallel situation is evolving in the two countries, and the evolutionary sequence is occurring a decade or more earlier in the USA than in Canada.

It is ironic that the USA had gone through a twenty-year phase of unsuccessfully attempting to force a termination-of-status policy on its Indians and had just shifted to a more enlightened policy the year before Canada introduced its failing termination-of-status policy in 1969. Now, after a decade of failure, Canada has turned to the 'self-determination-without-termination' policy that the USA embarked on in 1968. We need to learn that some solutions to current Canadian Indian policy issues have already been well worked out in the USA in such areas as Indian civil rights, language education, religious freedoms, child welfare and taxation.

Appendix A: A Chronology of Events Relating to American Policies on Indians

The Period of Conquest

1768	●	The North American colonies are given direct control over Indian affairs by the British Crown.
1778	●	The first American treaty is signed, with the Delaware, promising them statehood and a seat in Congress.
1787	●	Widespread warfare against confederations of Indians led to an explicit 'divide and rule' strategy.
1794	●	The Jay Treaty gave border Indians the right to cross the USA-Canada border freely.
1822-1824	●	The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was established.
1830	●	The Indian Removal Act was passed to resettle Indians west of the Mississippi River.
1832	●	State laws were declared invalid on tribal lands.
1834	●	The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act forbade the sale of firearms and alcoholic beverages to Indians.
1862	●	The Homestead Act opened up many Indian lands to Euro-American settlement.
1868	●	The Emancipation Amendment denied Indians the right to vote.
1871	●	Treaty relations were brought to an end.
1887	●	The Dawes or General Allotment Act allowed the individual allotment of reservation lands.
1910	●	The Bureau of Indian Affairs reinforced an 1881 ban on the Sun Dance, to remain in effect until 1934.

The Reinforcement of Indian Societies

1928	The Meriam Report was tabled.
1934	The Indian Reorganization Act was passed.
	The Johnson-O'Malley Act provided for the BIA to pay a subsidy to public schools for each Indian child on their rolls.

The Termination of the Indian Treaties

1946	The Indian Claims' Commission Act was passed. The Commission's term of office ended in 1978.
1951	The Employment Assistance Program (Relocation) was started.
1953	House Concurrent Resolution 108 established the treaty-termination policy.
	Public Law 280 transferred from federal to state jurisdiction some legal responsibilities for maintaining law and order on Indian reservations.
	Federal liquor laws were changed to eliminate discrimination against Indians.
1954	Treaties were terminated for the Klamath in Oregon and the Menominee in Wisconsin.
1955	Responsibility for Indian Health was transferred from the BIA to the Public Health Service.
1957	A reservation-industries program was started.
1961	The Employment Assistance Program shifted emphasis from reservation industries to vocational training in the cities.
1964	The Economic Opportunity Act was passed.
	The first 'fish-in' was held on the State of Washington coast.

The Period of Self-Determination

1968	• The Indian Civil Rights Act was passed.
	• The American Indian Movement began, with street patrols in Minneapolis.
1969	• Indians occupied Alcatraz Island off San Francisco.
1970	• A free legal service to Indians was started in Seattle.
1971	• The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was passed.
1972	• The Indian Education Act established the Office of Indian Education with programs on bilingual and bicultural enrichment, early childhood education, adult literacy, and teacher training.
1973	• Indians occupied Wounded Knee, South Dakota.
1974	• The proportion of BIA employees of Indian ancestry rose to 62 per cent as the result of an affirmative action policy on the preferential hiring of Indians by Indian agencies.
1974	• The Indian Finance Act (P.L. 93-26) expanded the Revolving Loan Fund, administered by the BIA, to $200 million. An additional $30 million in direct Indian Business Grants was used to assist a broad range of Indian enterprises.
1975	• The Submarginal Lands Act Amendment was passed.
	• The Havasupai received 185 000 acres of land on the rim of the Grand Canyon.
	• Menominee tribal land was returned to federal trusteeship.
	• The Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act was passed to strengthen tribal governments by directing the BIA and Indian Health Services to contract most of their services out to the tribes.
	• The American Indian Policy Review Commission was established, with task forces to examine such issues as tribal

government, health, energy resources, federal trust responsibilities, and the problems of non-reservation Indians.

1976 ● The Indian Health Care Improvement Act authorized the spending of $475 million over a three-year period to upgrade Indian health facilities and to finance water, sewage and utility services. This Act also helps Indians to enter the health-care professions.

1977 ● Large Penobscot and Passamaquoddy land claims in Maine were backed by the American government and eventually settled in favour of the Indian claimants.

● The Tribally Controlled Community Colleges Act was passed to aid several Indian-administered colleges at such places as Lawrence, Kansas, Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations in South Dakota, and on the Navajo Reservation.

1978 ● The Pasqua Yaqui arranged to have their land placed in trust.

● The Indian Child Welfare Act was passed.

● The American Indian Religious Freedoms Act was passed.

1979 ● The Supreme Court decided that in the state of Washington, the Indians have treaty rights to 45 to 50 per cent of the total fish catch.

Appendix B: *'Landmark' Occurrences by Date in the USA and Canada*

Native Culture	*USA*	*Canada*
Native American Church:	1918	1936
Salish Guardian Spirit Ceremonial:	1950s	1967
Modern association not based on tribe:	1879	1909
Labour union:	None	1914
Commercially successful Native art:	1919	1949
Women's association:	1920s	1937
Urban Indian Centre:	ca. 1950	1959
B.A. degree offered in Indian Education:	1951	1960
Indian-administered school:	1966	1970
Indian-administered community college:	1969	1971
Native Studies department:	1969	1969
Survival School:	1971	1976
Large scale, pan-Indian, occupation:	1964	1974
Nation-wide caravan:	1972	1974
Restaurant: (Oklahoma)		1972
Bank or trust company:	1973	1980

Government Policy	*USA*	*Canada*
Reservation:	1656	1645
Treaties:	1778-1868	1781-1923
Indian as head of Indian Affairs:	1869	None
Potlatch or spirit dancing outlawed:	1871	1884-1951

Indian police forces:	1880	1970s
Indian-operated courts:	1883	none
Indian in Senate:	1907	1958
Indian in Lower House:	1944	1968
Citizenship:	1924	1960
Formal policy of per capita grants to public and private schools for Indian students:	1934	1954
Land-claims commission:	1946	1969
End of prohibition of sale of alcoholic beverages:	1951	1967
Urban-relocation program:	1952	1957
Formal policy of termination of special status attempted:	1953	1969
Retention of Indian status by Native children adopted by non-Indian parents:	1978	1975

Other Areas of Comparison	*USA*	*Canada*
Population:	900 000	700 000
Population as a proportion of the nation:	0.4%	2.8%
Native first language:	28%	43%
Languages still viable:	35	34
Per cent of aboriginal languages still viable:	25	68%
Federal budgets, per capita serviced, $U.S.:	$ 3 333.	$ 3 105.
Indian ancestry of employees in the central Indian agency:	62%	26%

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